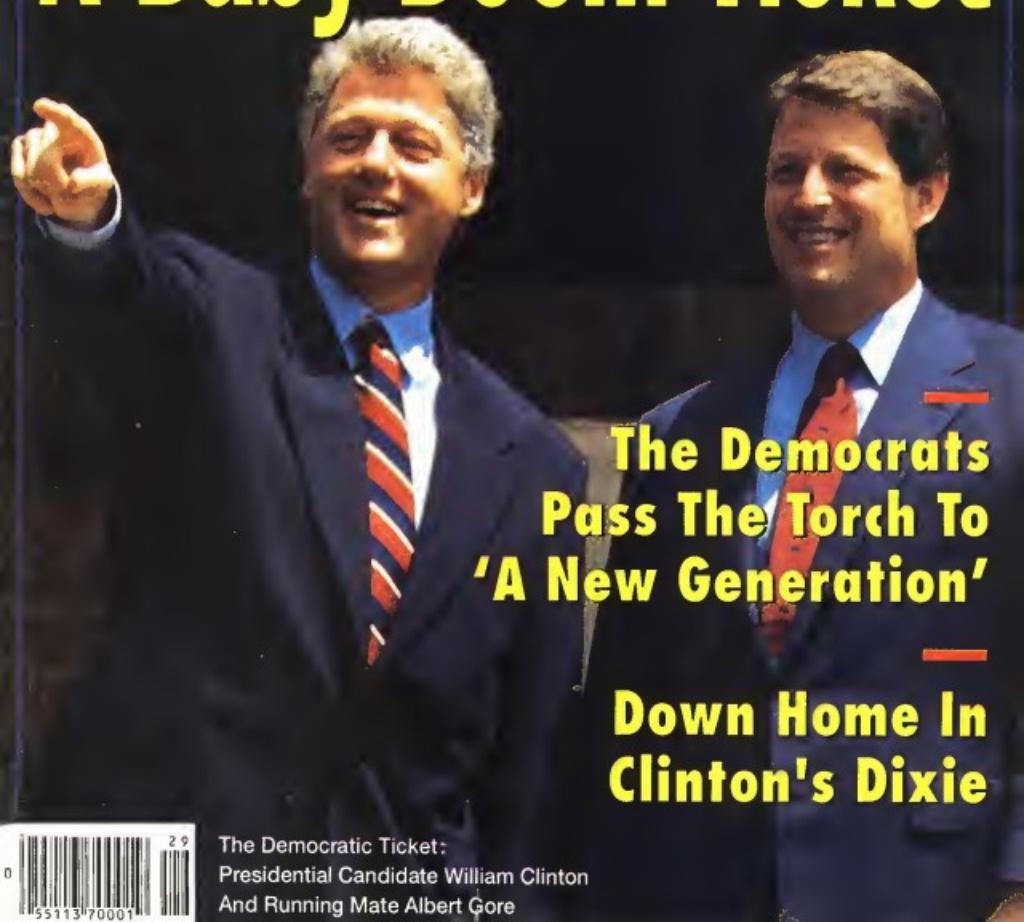


THE
UNITY DEBATE:
THERE THEY GO AGAIN

Maclean's

A Baby Boom Ticket



The Democrats
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Down Home In
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The Democratic Ticket:
Presidential Candidate William Clinton
And Running Mate Albert Gore



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Danger Signals

Nine provincial premiers and Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark have accomplished a remarkable undertaking in retrieving the political past of Canada in a way that holds at least some appeal for Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa. The Quebec Liberal leader last week refused to commit himself to attend a full first ministers' meeting, which would be his first since the Meech Lake affair two years ago. In an effort to remove disagreeable, but he clearly found the package too attractive to dismiss out of hand. Instead, he will likely accept it, especially if engaged in consultation with the other premiers before accepting Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on his estimation of the chances of a summit succeeding. That is when the issues could become sharper.

For one thing, most of those estate of gainful
and—most make the practice—have great
difficulty understanding what kind of wealthy democratic
country we emerge as the so-called test
is implemented. For another, a first *messianic* conde-
nse would turn the entire ruling class of modern
Europe into the March Lake access as far as that
of science, culture and civilization. Unless Ottawa
would take the previous test down to a agreement
with Quebec in adhesion consultations to the point where a first *messianic* meeting would
be only a ringing formula, Macneish should refuse to call one.

At the same time, the Commons should resume on July 25, as planned, or as often necessary to debate the new package extensively and, in the process, promote a national understanding and acceptance of its ramifications. Otherwise, there will almost certainly be a national sense of being left behind who are elsewhere better. Canadians seem ready to accept almost any proposal that will end the constitutional crisis and maintain the country's unity. But if their political representatives leave an impression that their support is taken for granted, that could well erode party unity—and the consequences would echo back through decades to come.

Kamileya

Winters Mary Janagan (left), Anthony Wilson Smith and Nancy Wood, *commencement*?

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OPENING NOTES

Tapping a new brew, a Canuck in San Diego and ire in the lobby

REAL MEN OF LETTERS

Her body to build, your perfect friends

Your life, your light under my fragrant hands

— Irving Layton, "Unlove," 1956



Layton: support from the feminist front

COURTESY OF THE ARTIST

Such provocative poetry from Irving Layton has often brought him criticism from feminist critics. But a member of *Zembla*, a feminist collective, has led or reformed some old silences. In the June 13 *Montreal Gazette*, reviewer Stephen Henderson wrote that Layton "goes to 'Canada's leading lecher'" and goes in "little more than 'scraping breasts.' The poet fired back at the editor, asking: "Is what literary theorist Peter Gatrell picks up the spermatized Hemingway?" There, an unlikely ally came to Layton's defense. Sharon R. Nelson, founder of the Feminist Caucus of the League of Canadian Poets. In a letter to Henderson that she circulated among Montreal's cultural elite, Nelson called the newspaper "shoddy" for treating the source adding: "It's odd I bring Irving Layton [a gay old man] does not strike me as an improvement over calling me a 'narrow-hedged, certifying, fustian bitch,'" Enter Gatrell, managing editor *Alors Même*, his pen, sketchy by his comments about Layton: "Only as a public," he claims, "what everybody else says is private."



A brewing movement

Across Ontario, dozens of bars and restaurants now sell Pride beer, a brew specifically aimed at homosexuals. Pride is the brainchild of Toronto bar owner Robert Asayaga, who said that he decided to find a new way to raise money for the Gay and Lesbian Community Appeal, a nationwide charity support organization. That will receive a still-unspecified percentage of the profits. Last fall, Asayaga approached Fred Galloher, sales manager for Mississauga, Ont., based Brick Brewing Co. Ltd., who agreed to add a new brand to his company's roster. Brich now sells about 400 cases a month of Pride. "We're a small brewery without a big budget for advertising," Galloher said. "We wanted to do something to get into a larger market." According to Steve Ray, president of Lanesville-based Ad Advertising, Brich has tapped into a market niche. Ray, whose agency is among the few in the United States to target homosexuals, said that the more than 25 million homosexual Americans have average household incomes of over \$40,000 compared with average heterosexual household incomes of \$44,300.

HAVE BABY, WILL TRAVEL

Amusement park chain in Norway has come up with a novel way to increase business and, perhaps, spark a baby boom in the downeaster country. From June 1 to August, guests at any of the four theme parks can enjoy substantial discounts on natural items—and numerous couples can recoup their expenses if they conceive a baby during their visit. To claim the rebate, new parents have to furnish proof that they child was born nine months after their stay or take two weeks. As part of Rose's provocative advertising campaign, Norwegian newspapers are running full-page pictures of nursing mothers with the caption, "Up to 60 per cent off for all participants, 100 per cent for the winners." The payoff for the hosts? "We desperately need more traffic," said marketing director Terje Holsenbeck. "The campaign is about one thing—the vacation, eating, spending lots—and perhaps making lots."

PETRO CAN-AMERICA



PHOTO BY DAVID WILSON

Despite efforts by Ottawa and the provinces to control cross-border shopping, Canadians continue to storm south in search of bargains. Now to combat their enthusiasm, some Canadian companies are expanding outlets to lower-cost U.S. border communities. One of the latest to do that is Petro-Canada, which opened its first American gas station in Pittsburgh, N.Y., 90 km south of Montreal, in May. Even though Petrocan is still 80.5 percent owned by the federal government, director of public affairs John Wish said it did not need Canadian regulatory approval for the station. The station in Pittsburgh is a prototype; it added, Petro-Canada will likely open others in other cities. The advantages are clear: due to lower taxes, oil in Pennsylvania sold gas last week for the equivalent of 42 cents a litre—about 20 cents less than at Montreal stations. Said Wish: "You can't argue where your customers are going."

CANADA'S ALL-STAR

Because of the vagueness of selecting baseball's National and American League All-Star teams, suggests Carl Feller of Detroit and Dave Windle of Toronto did not make the grade, that there were still plenty of household names available for the July 14 game in San Diego. The 10 team selected by the Toronto Blue Jays for the event included former Blue Jays' Hall of Famers Alomar, along with pitcher Juan Guzman and catcher Jim Carter. On the NL side, microbial right-hander Dennis Martinez represented the Montreal Expos for the third straight year. Another Blue to make the cut was this year was Larry Walker, 25, the pride of Maple Ridge, B.C., who plays George (Christopher) Sevier of Mississauga, Ont. (1986, 1988). Chatham, Ont.'s Ferguson Jenkins (1987, 1972) and Terry Puhl (1976) of Melville, Sask., senior Canadian slingers. Going less the weekend before the all-star break, the soft-spoken Vancouver right fielder had 144 home runs and driven in 523 runs for the underappreciated but exciting Expos. Said Walker: "It's the greatest feeling I've had since I started playing baseball." Thanks to contract increases, Walker and Martinez will each earn an extra \$100,000 for making the cut, but that puts runs in comparison to the \$80,000 bonus that Alomar's contract provides, not to mention Carter's \$30,000 and Guzman's \$34,000. They play at a Twins.

A LOBBYIST'S LOBBYIST

Intense pressure of this year's federal budget would, if enacted by Parliament, require all lobbyists—the people who represent special-interest groups in dealings with government—to pay an as yet unannounced registration fee. And that, according to *The Lobby Minister*, an industry newsletter, has previously aroused the anger of the capital's lobby crowd. "We're being charged to make representations to the government," said Scott Freedman, vice-president of Government Consultants International, one of Ottawa's largest lobbying firms. "I thought it was a democratic right to make representations to the government." Although Freedman is trying to rally opposition to the proposed registration fee, he says that he doubts his entourage will have much influence. "As a group we are a small industry," Freedman told *Maclean's*. "Because of that, the government thinks they can get away with it." He adds, "Lobbyists are much more effective when they represent someone else, not themselves."



Walker: "It's the greatest feeling I've had."

Perking Up The Hill

At 113, she was a North American sensation, appearing in *The Wizard of Oz* as the Scarecrow. Then she began her career as a dancer at the Broadway, New York, theater, singing with George (George) Morris, the father of Terry Bradshaw. Geoffrey Scott, former headmaster, is another brother who took on the Bradshaw. A petite woman with a lot of attitude, she recently released her first album, *When You Lose Somebody*, which is written largely by singer-songwriter Eric Wright. She has made a name for herself in Great Britain, where she is making an impact on the rest of the country. Wright's dad, however, the singer, has always been oddly square-lipped, of low musical aspirations and she adds that she hopes to encourage the flight of her early starstruck, which included her thoughts with Freddie Mercury. "He wasn't that staggering guy anymore that he was onstage at all," she recalls. "He was just a sweetheart." Wright says that, back then her parents helped her career because they were worried that she was too young to handle fame. She says that she has no regrets about dropping out of the big time when she was young, but adds, "I hope to be here a lot longer this time."

PASSAGES

DIED: Veteran broadcaster Eric Sevareid, 78, from stomach cancer, at his home in Washington D.C. in Chevy Chase, Md. Sevareid began his career in journalism at 18 as a reporter for *The Mississippi Journal*. But it was during his 30-year tenure with CBS that Sevareid made his name—first as a war correspondent and later as radio news broadcaster, television commentator and columnist. In 1946, he was the first correspondent to report that France was going to surrender to the Germans. He retired in 1977 at age 63, but remained as CBS as a consultant.

DIED: Former MP Pauline Jevette, 69, of cancer, in an Ottawa hospital. The St. Catharines, Ont.-born Jevette, became a political science professor at Carleton University in Ottawa in 1965, and stayed from 1969 to 1983 as a Liberal member of Parliament for the H.C. riding of New Waterford/Capitale in April. Jevette, then Carlton's chancellor, was made an officer of the Order of Canada.



DIED: Paul Fleck, 88, the president of the Bentall Centre for Continuing Education, which includes the internationally renowned Bentall Centre for the Arts, in Toronto. Fleck was chairman of the English department at the University of Western Ontario in London from 1967 to 1974, and was president of the Ontario Chapter of Art between 1973 and 1983.

DISCLOSED: By former *Maclean's* editor and writer of numerous beach novels *Annette Fawcett*, 49, who she has had radio interviews for the past five years, in Los Angeles. Because her husband has begun to fail, Fawcett made public disclosure to defend speculation that she has a drinking problem.

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COLUMN



Another threat to freedom in Ontario

BY BARBARA AMIEL

I don't know whether George Orwell's Animal Farm is prophesy ringing in Ontario high schools. I rather suspect not. If it were, perhaps the citizens of Ontario—black and white, male and female, disabled and able-bodied, old, middle-aged, clever, ordinary, wealthy, poor, of Indian, Japanese, Middle Eastern and Oriental extraction—might show a bit of backbending in the seats that has affected their prudence.

This year has two many divisive issues

and pressure-group politics. The latest outbreak comes with the Ontario government's proposed employment equity legislation, which requires any business with over 50 employees to draw up a plan to make sure the correct number of "disfavored people, people with disabilities, members of racial minorities and women in the community" are reflected in the workplace. As the *Toronto Globe and Mail* pointed out in a recent editorial, the definition and resulting opportunities for our local businesses are so broad that some Ontario firms are in a minority compared with disabled females or disabled males? Two points for being a Mosley and one point for being a Jew, perhaps?

The MoL would bring along an employment equity committee to monitor the plan and to take complaints from disadvantaged people. (Encouraging citizens to become equal citizens is a symptom of the virus.) The shield of all decent people ought to take it easy. Every Ontarian, upon being asked to become calligraphers in this, the extinction of equality in their province, should refuse to fill set the hearts that the new act will require. Since filling out the humanist voluntary, this one amount of defiance will not even earn a penalty.

Let me return to Animal Farm for a moment. The book begins with the division of all its four-legged beasts, who soon a golden future in which man the oppressor is thrown out, all animals unite and are equal. His vision inspires the animals to drive the farmers and human beings off their farm.

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beings off their farm. The shadow of the bill becomes clear if we look at school exams: everyone writes the same exam paper, but collects you per a fit in, people end up with different exam results. There is no way to guarantee equality of result without being unfair to the person that got the best result fairly.

For me, arguing against employment equity is another like-arguing against the Second World War: to argue that it would do more harm than good, that it would not help the most deprived, that it would not work, contract work, tax assessments and hiring correctly reflect the number of states, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Israel, Mexico, Russia, New Zealand and an attempt to mention all other categories—makes the Third Reich's Nuremberg laws look benign.

The proposed act is true racism. It proceeds from an entirely false premise and after generations of the world of real work, namely, the notion that business would operate upstream of its own interests and ignore a talented or able workforce because of prejudice. If some businesses are only enough to grace having good workers because they are black female, they will pay the price and be outdone by the competition. No business wants to self-destruct.

The proposed legislation tries to cover its attack on individual liberty and the right of employers to run their businesses as they see fit, with the excuse that it is only establishing voluntary "goals," not quotas. But attached to this is the stick of contract compliance. The tragedy of all this is evident. Businesses in Ontario are already suffering under the combined horror of the year's labor and taxation policies as well as the recession. If we now create an entirely new layer of bureaucracy and force businesses to meet this recent set of political correctness, we will further cripple (oops, handicap) those companies trying to survive in Ontario and encourage new business from coming.

But the real tragedy behind the new laws in the following pages are not simply abominable as some. MoL is abominable. They have many flaws in them. They are sexist, homophobic and discriminatory as well as ethnic group members. The black women whose white husband is turned down for a promotion loses, the wife whose husband's business is ruined by this expensive program loses, the wheelchair occupant who requires a female caregiver with three children creates another injustice and act of racism. These terrible MoL commissioners seem not to care a damn about replacing one wrong with another. They lose their dreams, these women of moral justice in which you, some people are more equal than others.

It will all come to tears, group against group, institutional and institutionalized inequality. And as for Bob Rae's government, well, Ontario's last lesson in Animal Farm deal with that. The knowledges learned obstacles look at their leaders, the pigs, "From pig to man, from man to pig, and from pig to man again." So it was impossible to say which was which."

CANADA'S ANSWER

**A LAST-MINUTE
DEAL WOULD
CHANGE THE
NATION—BUT WILL
QUEBEC SAY YES?**

Just hours after the Meech Lake accord unraveled in June, 1990, a weary and exhausted Robert Bourassa rose in the National Assembly to issue a defiant challenge. The Quebec premier declared that he would no longer sit at the negotiating table with other government leaders. Quebec had set its conditions for constitutional change—but that accord had just collapsed amid a furor of national debate. Now, Bourassa said, it was up to English Canada to move on with a package of its own proposals. "What does Canada want?" Bourassa asked. Last week, the other nine provincial premiers and federal Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark privately acknowledged that they had agreed on a wide-ranging plan for constitutional change. After 11 hours of intense negotiations, which capped a month of talks of peace, a breakthrough was imminent. Today, I think Canada has arrived." Roybal Bourassa too seems intent. "The unfulfilled process resulted in offices—and we adjourned at fact."

What Canada—or at least English-Canada—wants, according to the premiers and Clark, is steering clear as the elected Senate would replace the appointed upper house and each province would have an equal number of seats, regardless of population. Natives would govern themselves as a matter yet to be determined. The new Constitution would declare an end to provincial barriers to the movement of goods, services, people and investment capital—although there would be a substantial number of exceptions. There would be stronger guarantees that Ottawa and the other provinces would continue to subsidize the poorer provinces. Each province would be able to block further changes in the Senate and the Supreme Court—meeting Bourassa's demand for a Que-



Flag factory in Toronto: several provinces warn that they can move no further

bec vote by extending it to all provinces. And any province that wanted more power in certain areas, such as manpower training, could negotiate an agreement to get that power from the federal government.

But it is far from clear that Quebec is willing to accept what the rest of Canada wants. While the other premiers did try to meet Quebec's regional demands, they also endorsed many changes, such as a strong Senate with equal representation from each province, that Quebec has traditionally opposed. Last week, Bourassa claimed that parts of the proposal would be difficult to sell to Quebecers, and he described certain aspects in language and borrowing, particularly the plan to reduce Quebec's presence in the Senate while giving the upper

chamber the power to overturn Commons legislation. He also indicated that Quebec needed an incentive—perhaps the offer of new powers—to return to negotiations. "We want certain clarifications," he said reporters. "These are not final offers; they are provisional."

In response, politicians across the nation warned that changes would have to be made. They said that the asterisk package was the result of delicate negotiations and complex trade-offs. Any major shift in one area could cause the whole deal to collapse. Alberta Inter-governmental Affairs Minister James Brewster, for one, reacted with politely veiled horror to Bourassa's claim that the package was still open for change. "We have gone through a

series of elaborate processes and I do not think there is much—if any—for alteration of any of the aspects," he said. "We have been at the table for almost four months arguing over how many angels can dance on the head of a pin. These are things we never consented to interpret." Even Ontario Premier Bob Rae, who shared many of Quebec's concerns throughout the negotiations, appeared unwilling to countenance major changes. Declared that: "We can talk. We just cannot reach the whole thing."

Faced with apparently irreconcilable differ-

ences, Michael Harcourt: "It is a good package, but a compromise package. No one gets everything they want."

In the fact of those hardened positions, Ottawa has few carrots that it can offer to attract Quebec back to the negotiations. If Conservative major Senate changes, among federal officials insist, will "further alienate us among the other provinces will likely be for aspect \$10, there are two key areas where concessions appear possible. Ottawa could offer additional federal powers in fields such as family policy and energy to the provinces, and the Constitution could be amended to remove Quebec's demand that all provinces must approve the changes in new provinces.

If these negotiations are successful—and this second collapse—Ottawa would likely present its own package to Parliament. Some federal officials would clearly welcome that opportunity because it would allow Ottawa to craft a proposal that is better tailored to Quebec's needs. As well, senior federal officials are still awaiting over Clark's decision to accept water-downs proposed to reduce interprovincial trade barriers. But a decision to actually implement would carry significant risks, above all, it would be difficult for the other nine provinces to accept a new federal package because it would be seen as a rejection of their very hard-won deal. And a key federal negotiator said, "If worse comes to worst, the feds are going to have to go out on a limb and put forward their own package. That option is made more difficult by the agreement we have now."

In fact, the legal text of the agreement could take three to five months to hammer out. If it fails to receive unanimous support, however, it could readily alter the landscape of Canadian politics, despite changes.

SHUTTY AS CHAMBERS

For the second time, former high-school teacher James Keegstra, 57, of Enderby, Alta., has been found guilty of promoting hatred against Jews. Alberta Court Justice John Keegstra, who is now unemployed, \$3,000. His 1985 conviction for teaching that Jewish conspirators planned to gain world control was overturned last year when the Alberta Court of Appeal ruled that Keegstra's lawyers should have been allowed to question potential jurors about their feelings on the highly publicized case.

A TRICK AT CANADA POST

Canada Post and the 45,000-member Canadian Union of Postal Workers reached a tentative contract agreement that could ensure labor peace at the Crown corporation until the end of 1995. What could ensure labor peace at the Crown corporation until the end of 1995, which will be voted on by July 30, hourly wage rates for letter carriers and postal clerks will rise from \$14.24 to \$17.06 and associate members will enjoy greater job security.

FISHING FOR SUPPORT

Federal Fisheries Minister Jim Crook indicated that he might resign if he is unable to convince his cabinet colleagues to support Ottawa's new package to resolve the Newfoundland cod fishery crisis. If Crook's motion to reject Senate changes, among federal officials insist, will "further alienate us among the other provinces will likely be for aspect \$10, there are two key areas where concessions appear possible. Ottawa could offer additional federal powers in fields such as family policy and energy to the provinces, and the Constitution could be amended to remove Quebec's demand that all provinces must approve the changes in new provinces.

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THE CHAMBER'S FAMILY

The latest census figures show that the Canadian family is changing dramatically. As of June 4, 1990, one in 10 couples lived in a common-law union, a 106-per-cent increase over the 1981 figure. As well, single-parent families made up 12 per cent of all families, compared with 11.3 per cent 10 years earlier.

A MIXED DECISION

The Supreme Court of Canada ruled unanimously that judges can order governments to pay social benefits to individuals when there is a clear violation of constitutional rights. But the court, which had been asked to rule on sex discrimination over unequal federal pension benefits, also stated that judges should be reluctant to subordinate their views for those of elected legislators when interpreting the meaning of social legislation.

SUITY AS CHAMBERS

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THE PROPOSED TRIPLE E SENATE IS A POTENTIAL DEAL BREAKER

Canada's attempt to impose policies similar to the National Energy Program—the controversial 1980 federal plan that levied heavy taxes on oil and gas revenues.

The reformed Senate could also defeat proposed legislation in other areas, but only with a majority of 70 per cent. In a further highly unusual twist, a vote by 60 per cent to 70 per cent of the senators against a Commons bill would trigger a joint sitting of the two bodies. The combined membership of those two chambers—more than 400 politicians—would then vote on the measure, with a simple majority being sufficient for victory.

The method of choosing the new senators would also be radically altered. It is not a simple matter of voters directly selecting a single senator for a randomly selected eight senators for the chamber. In either case, rather than selecting a single candidate, voters would be asked to rank candidates in order of preference. The candidates—or candidates—with the highest overall approval would win.

The proposed Senate has already sparked fierce debate. University of Calgary dean of graduate studies David Bussell has strongly advocated an elected, equal and effective Senate because "the interests of minorities are



Canada Watch
provides research, advocacy, and policy analysis of a constitutional package negotiated by its provincial and territorial counterparts. The intent: governments at all levels, and not Ottawa, will have the power to govern. A broad-based, non-partisan, non-governmental organization, it is working to prepare for the future. It also monitors and analyzes federal and the division of powers.

• Shirley Hart, former chief of staff to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, warned that uncertainty about federal laws and regulations would create indecision in all business with a secessionist Quebec.

• Spurring an coalition of assembly, a senior federal official has reported that no one in Ottawa has given any thought to what will happen to the current 29 senators if they are to be replaced by elected officials.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK
"You could have produced anything at all—the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount—all sanctified—and they would have said it was not good enough."

—Gaston Parent *See Box on the revision of Quebec's constitution to the proposed new system*

protected to some degree from the raw power of the majority." Although he described the overall proposal as a "fairly good compromise," he ridiculed the method of election as "a wacky idea."

In contrast, Quebec Senator Gabriel Beaudoin, a constitutional expert, dismissed the entire proposal because, he said, it would result in constant warfare between the Commons and the Senate. He pointed out that it will give only 27 per cent of the seats to Quebec and Ontario, even though they represent more than 64 per cent of the population. And Beaudoin, "I am really surprised that Ontario went along with this Senate after Quebec comes back to the negotiating table, the time is ripe to have new legislation." In his view, Prime Minister Bourassa indicated that Quebec might be more amenable to an equal Senate if it had the power only to delay—not reject—legislation. But that idea is clearly unacceptable to some western provinces and Newfoundland.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

In exchange for giving each province equal representation in the Senate, the 296-seat Commons would be expanded to better reflect the populations of the larger provinces. Ontario would gain 14 seats; British Columbia and Quebec would gain three seats each and Alberta would gain one.

ECONOMIC UNION

The proposals in strength Canada's economic union have a tangled history. Ottawa signalled its desire to dominate the more than \$800 entrepreneurial trade treaties in September, 1980, as part of a far-reaching series of constitutional negotiations. An idea dragged on through the winter, Ottawa and the provinces agreed to handle that section with a simple political agreement because the international trade package had become stalled. Last month, that section became enshrined in the federal budget, Finance Minister Donald Macdonald abruptly intervened and demanded that Clark obtain constitutional guarantees to help the economy.

Although Clark complied, senior federal officials still consider the agreement to be far too weak to be much value. Currently, the Constitution prevents provinces from imposing tariffs on goods from other provinces, but does nothing to prevent the creation of mercantilist barriers such as preferential purchase agreements. The new proposal allows such exceptions that federal officials do not deeply concern them that the law similarly removes trade restrictions—because it gives constitutional status to 12 different kinds of barriers. "At that point, it would be better to drop it," one official added. The exemptions were largely in



it allowed to block the creation of new provinces.

NATIVE RIGHTS

In 1980, natives played a key role in defeating the Meech Lake accord, insisting that the document ignored their interests. In contrast, native leaders have been full participants in many of the most recent negotiating sessions. Last month, it appeared that native groups had won a stunning victory: the Constitution would recognize their inherent right to self-government and, unless otherwise specified, it would guarantee compensation payments to pay for it. But last week, at press time, John Crosbie raised their concerns over how much power native governments would have and how many of their arrangements would cost Canadian taxpayers. The deal was significantly水ered down. Provinces refused to limit their native self-government—but they refused to let that commitment in the Constitution. Still, Assembly of First Nations National

Cheif Ovide Mercredi emerged from the negotiations with two thumbs up, indicating his pleasure that recognition of the aboriginal right of self-government remained in the package. Still

oppose to the concerns of Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow, who has broadly opposed the economic union proposals because they could severely restrict a provincial government's ability to use subsidies to attract industries. Federal officials believe that Romanow simply outmaneuvered Clark.

QUALIFICATION

Another modus of income lobbying by the power brokers, the premiers finally announced that they had extracted stronger guarantees of federal equalization payments for the power provinces. Those payments are designed to ensure that government services and programs in the poorer provinces are comparable to those offered in richer provinces. The critics say that the new provisions fail to take into account taxpayer stability to pay. University of Alberta economist Paul Booth, for one, warned that provincial politicians who were dissatisfied with the level of equalization payments might be able to take the federal government to court. "That means that the courts will decide what is an adequate level of public services," said Booth. "We should flesh out this proposal with legislature rather than allow it to be determined at unexpected ways by the courts."

CONSTITUTIONAL VETO

Since Confederation, Quebec has maintained that it should have a veto over constitutional change because Canada, in its view, is a pact between two founding nations—French and English. However, there is no such veto in constitutional law. Under the proposal, Quebec had proposed giving each province an equal

James Bay, Que., Crees preserving rights

other province. And the power would apply only to changes to the Supreme Court and to the Senate. The English-Canadian premiers have so far rejected another key Quebec demand—that

PRIVATE INPUT, PUBLIC POLICY

This issue of *Insider* is given Canadians

but few citizens had more influence on the issue than Peter Nicholson. A former Liberal member of the Ontario legislature, Nicholson is a former vice-president in Toronto of the Bank of Nova Scotia. The 50-year-old Nicholson is a well-described political powerhouse, as he puts it, "a lifelong student of public policy." Five months ago, that interest led him to draft his own proposal for Senate reform—a plan that, with several modifications, formed the basis of last week's tentative agreement among Ottawa and the nine English-speaking provinces.

Nicholson traces his involvement in the study talk to a conversation in Montreal last February with Jacques Boisjoly, a senior advisor to the federal cabinet on federal-provincial relations. Nicholson, who has known Boisjoly for a decade, asked him if any of the participants at a conference on Senate reform in Calgary a week earlier had proposed giving each province an equal

number of Senate seats—on the condition that a substantial majority would be required to override Senate of Commons legislation. "She said, 'No, but that's an interesting idea,'" Nicholson recalled. "So I went into my office and wrote and wrote it up."

The result was a five-page document summarizing Nicholson's view that the simplest way to resolve the Senate dispute was to focus on the distribution of the upper house's seats rather than on any specific principle of provincial equality. Setting the overall percentage at two-thirds or three-quarters, Nicholson's paper advised, would ensure that senators representing a very small population base would not be able to block the will of the House of Commons.

Nicholson then distributed his proposal to a handful of federal and provincial officials, including Bourque and Nova Scotia Premier Donald Cameron, on another longitude separation. For a while, there was no reaction. But about two months ago, an official in Cameron's government told him that the Nova Scotia delegation intended to circulate copies of the plan at the next round of talks. Then,

MacLeod. "We have moved from nothing in the Constitution to fundamental reforms that recognize the inherent right of our people to govern themselves."

DIVISION OF POWERS

The proposed changes to the provinces' inclusive jurisdiction over an area, including mining and tourism. As well, it declares that inter-market trading and culture, with the exception of such key cultural agencies as the CBC, should become fields of exclusive provincial jurisdiction. Last week, Bourassa indicated that the proposal did not go far enough. "We see that there is likely a gap in the federal proposals for the Quebec government to control human development." That was held could cover many issues that Ottawa could make contentious.

Ottawa must now determine how much concession exists between Quebec and its provincial partners. While it might appear that the simplest solution would be to give more powers to Quebec, to secure its agreement, that commitment is hard to imagine in English Canada. Would the University of Calgary's Bourassa "I think the negotiations have already gone even further than most Canadians are comfortable with—they goes to because they were part of that." In the end, Ottawa must craft two visions of the nation, what English Canada wants and what Quebec wants. The task now is to determine if any constitutional package can ever accommodate those two strikingly different dreams.

MARIE JANGIAN AND NANCY WOOD in Ottawa

over the last month, Nicholson received the first official indication that his proposal had been taken seriously: reports to reporters after meeting the premiers at a Toronto Constitutional Affairs Minister Jim Clark praised "the Nicholson plan" and said that it had helped to break the deadlock on Senate reform.

Even so, Nicholson is not sanguine about his future in Ottawa. "I think it was a fairly obvious nomination," he says. "It's not exactly rocket science." He adds that he is uncertain about the implications of a Triple E Senate. "On the one hand, I hope that it will strengthen the national government by reducing regional alienation. But people who say we are living dead are absolutely right. No one has any clear idea how this will shake out."

Nicholson's 'vision'
Peter Nicholson, 50, is a former Liberal member of the Ontario legislature. He is a former vice-president in Toronto of the Bank of Nova Scotia. He has known Jacques Boisjoly, a senior advisor to the federal cabinet on federal-provincial relations, for a decade. Nicholson, who has known Boisjoly for a decade, asked him if any of the participants at a conference on Senate reform in Calgary a week earlier had proposed giving each province an equal

ROB LISTER

A PREMIER'S CRYPTIC SMILE

BOURASSA KEEPS THEM GUESSING

In the summer of 1986, after his return to power as premier of Quebec, Robert Bourassa spent an afternoon with two visitors in the backroom of his minuscule Montreal home, referring on his letter to postes. Relocating in a lawn chair, sipping his espresso and taking notes, Bourassa plied them with many occasions when members of the opposition Parti Québécois had tried to sway him to his corner in a variety of issues. With a slight smile, the often-evasive Bourassa, holding a letter of thanks, Bourassa declared: "They should know better than to try to make my things when I do not have to."

In a career as premier that has spanned 13 of the past 22 years, creation has always been the watchword of Bourassa's political style. Rarely was that more evident than last month, when Bourassa responded to a package of constitutional proposals from Ottawa and the other premiers with a series of mixed messages that prompted Quebec Premier René Lévesque, for one, to describe him as "a master of ambiguity." Quebec journalists, many of whom have envied their pronounced love to Bourassa-watching, were no less perplexed. The mass-mailing tactic, *Le Journal de Montréal* suggested Bourassa's description of the proposal as "difficult to sell." By contrast, a four-page lead-in to the Montreal daily *Le Droit* drew attention to his assertion that "considerable progress" had been made towards meeting the province's constitutional demands. At the end of Bourassa's house-hang news conference, an unengaged reporter asked: "Can you just tell us what you really want to do?" His only response was a cryptic smile.

Cryptic? Not. Bourassa's pronouncements for his fellow premiers and the spirit of the proposals will encourage some nationalists and encourage federalists. Declared Jacques Brazeau, the right constitutional affairs critic: "My impression is that he is prepared to accept." In fact, advisors to Bourassa told Maclean's that while he is preparing to attend a first minister's meeting on the Constitution, he



Bourassa's 'considerable progress' but a 'difficult sell'

is hopeful that such a meeting will not be necessary. And although he is bound by law to hold a referendum on constitutional改革 by Dec. 31, he did not give a clear answer when reporters pressed him if he is prepared to change this deadline.

Privately, one adviser said that Bourassa hopes that many of his objections to the present agreement can be dealt with by having Ottawa present a "slightly refined" version of the agreement in the form of legislation awaiting the present Constitution. These refinements, including some procedural powers, would ease several of Quebec's most profound misgivings about the agreement and help Bourassa sell the package across the province. Sharply before he made his remarks last week, two senior offi-

cials from his government met in Ottawa with officials of the Federal-Bilingual Relations Office. Their meeting dealt with Quebec's concerns about some aspects of the agreement and, a federal adviser later, an explanation of "the policies behind the package—particularly which governments endorsed which concepts."

Despite Bourassa's generally elusive stance, he—and several others, in later interviews—made clear his opposition to certain parts of the present constitutional proposal. For one thing, Quebec rejects the idea that new provinces—which would potentially reduce Quebec's clout at the federal level—

could be created in the future without its approval. In addition, Bourassa appears to be at odds with the other premiers in his view of Senate powers: Quebec has traditionally opposed giving the Senate any new power over legislation; Bourassa might more readily accept an equal Senate if such a legislative body could only amend, not kill, bills from the House of Commons.

Pragmatism. At the same time, Bourassa's public remarks appeared to reflect a stronger degree of support for national unity. Thus far, he offered state the 1980 collapse of the March Lake accord. At various times, he proved his new agreement for meeting most of Quebec's traditional demands, lectured members of the Quebec media on the importance of understanding gravitas in Western Canada and among aborigines, and reiterated his call for a revised United Nations study. "This is the country ranked number 1 in the world. We will not destroy it without participating in the effort to save it."

In the days ahead, as he pugnaciously tries to winnow Quebec's position without risking what has been gained so far, Bourassa faces cautious suspicion from the province's nationalist forces. One former member of the old left-wing, Le Droit newspaper, Luc Bouchard, wrote recently for the often-progressive *Le Droit* that Bourassa's views, published at an unusually succinct response the day after the details of the agreement were made public, in large type, bear an editorialized reading: "Now," said Bourassa, asked about the editorials, located it offhandedly with a contemptuous look. A letter sign-off for him was that his party's own nationalists were "resolutely silent." One of the few Liberals to criticize the proposals was *l'Action publique*'s Guy Bélanger, who declared: "It is not time yet to start singing 'O Canada.'" By the same token, however, Bourassa's guarded endorsement of the agreement suggests that it would be a mistake for Quebecers to forget the lyrics.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH is Quebec City



Moisette (left), Frappé, the potency of the female vote in the referendum

THE VOICE OF WOMEN

QUEBECERS FIGHT FOR FEDERALISM

Molly Frappé's personal epiphany came while listening to the radio. The retired Montreal educator was in her kitchen on a frosty morning last December, tuning in to a program on Canadian territorial protectionism. "A woman called the show and asked what we were all going to tell our granddaughters if they ever asked what we had done to stop the country from falling apart," recalled Frappé.

The question stopped me dead in my tracks because I realized that if Quebec seceded, I would have to tell my two granddaughters that I had done absolutely nothing to stop it," Frappé said with that prospect, Frappé decided to act. She picked up the telephone, called a dozen friends and posed the same question. Within a month, the 12 had formed a pressure group. Now, six months later, that group has blossomed into a 3,000-member organization of French- and English-speaking women who are dedicated to keeping Quebec in Canada.

"It's Our Country Let's Talk" is the English name for the organization spawned in Frappé's kitchen. Since then, its members have quietly built bridges across Quebec's

legislative divide by meeting over coffee in country kitchens and city unions, recruiting speakers for larger gatherings in immigrant baths and church basements, fraying old ties to politicians and rejoining old friends and down-to-earth. So far, we do not have any money generated by Quebec's politicians and none for that map icon change," says Harvey Moisette, a market research analyst and one of Frappé's original 12. Despite its small size, Quebec women still play a major role in that day's planned provincial referendum on Quebec's place in Canada, said Moisette, when of Quebec assembly: "You cannot escape the fact that we represent 20 per cent of the voting population."

The potency of the female vote was demonstrated by the 1980 Quebec referendum campaign on sovereignty-association. In the end of that campaign, Luc Peltier, the English-language魁北克民族主义 minister, destroyed her own political cause by controversially downgrading all women who intended to vote against sovereignty in "feminist." The mean referred to is a somewhat little girl depicted in French elementary school textbooks. Quebec's Liberal party

exploited the gaffe by organizing women into a feminist movement named "Les Feministes."

Most women in Frappé's organization want identification as modern-day Feminists. "That was a spontaneous event and it's impossible to re-create," said the British-born Frappé, who retired a year ago from her post as headmistress of Miss Edna's and Miss Grampa's School, an elite Montreal private girls' school. Still, the responses are striking. Like the Feminists, Frappé's group claims roughly equal numbers of women from Quebec's two major language groups—although the concentration of the women in relatively prosperous areas of Montreal, Hull and the Eastern Townships suggests that it is from the francophone cross-section of Quebec women. "We may not be Feminists, but we do believe that we are to be fully informed about all of the effects of separation—both positive and negative," said Hélène Massé, a bourgeoisie Montreal housewife.

Survival. Informal debate is as central to the group's members. "There are a lot of reasons to be proud of being Canadian, but we are not really being told what they are," complained Montreal stockbroker Colette Forest-Croiset. The 45-year-old mother of two added that many of her friends have "not yet realized that separation is definitely before business and must likely had for the long-term survival of the French language and culture."

Operating out of a suite of offices in downtown Montreal, Frappé and her colleagues are waging their campaign as a showing of strength, relying entirely on individual contributions that are generally \$75 or less. The office space—so well as a fax machine and a battery-powered computer—is on loan from sympathetic whom the group's leaders decide to identify. But they have received some powerful moral support from the like-minded federalist Quebec business lobby, the Association for the Economy and the Constitution. Claude Beauchamp, president of the 1,500-strong association, was guest speaker at an information session organized by the women in Montreal last month, and is scheduled to appear at another this week in Hull.

But apart from the Beauchamp appearance, virtually all of the group's activities involve women only. The organization assembled 850 red-and-white-clad women on July 1 to march in Montreal's Canada Day parade, and by tradition, personality Personality Champion. And flags were under way for a rally of women who will link hands across a bridge between Ottawa and Hull on Sept. 25 in a show of support for Canadian unity. "We don't really want the men around," said Moisette. "It's much easier for the women to talk politics without their husbands around to intimidate them." Frappé offers a more pointed explanation: "To be perfectly frank, she said sternly with a head-nodding, she practices glass, "we really wanted to get on with this thing and get something done for a change." For writing that these women, at least, intend to be heard.

BARRY CALMIE in Montreal

'WELCOME TO HELL'

Sarajevo remained a city under siege last week, even as a United Nations relief effort for 300,000 residents滞留 in the Bosnian capital gathered momentum. In March, Prime Minister Ibrahim Rugova and other leaders of the Group of Seven international countries assured UN relief workers that of those they endanger relief workers, including 800 Canadian peacekeepers in Sarajevo, "the Canadian government will honor its commitment to the people of Sarajevo, not to mention our obligations under the Geneva Convention." As it turned out, the regions of their words, a Canadian peacekeeper, Capt. Dennis Reid of Guelph's Régiment, Nfld., lost a foot when he stepped on a land mine in Sarajevo.

Later, at Mokrije, 55 delegates to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) blamed Sarajevo for the year-old civil war in the former Yugoslav federation that has left 14,000 people dead. And Sarajevo's masters of the now-nearby Western European Defense Forces alliance agreed to send a small British unit to support to join the western side of the Sarajevo road. And that it would also provide support. At the prospect of European military intervention to open a land corridor to the besieged city, said one, "Mladic's regime is broken. Chief Andrew Phillips' chief of staff, a resident of Sarajevo, called the effectiveness of the relief effort 'a myth.'

He was just another scared woman in a terrified town, scurrying along the sidewalks with a shopping bag clutched in one hand. Aria Rakovic, a 49-year-old lawyer, had been walking the streets of Sarajevo all day, trying desperately to find something for her son to eat. Like everyone in the city, Rakovic had a terrible heart-wrenching urge to tell her 80-year-old father, Milivojko, how bad things in the fighting and destroyed city were getting. Her tears were starting to fall fast, but she had nothing but a Milek bread in her hands. With United Nations convoys bearing tons of food into the city, Rakovic figured, there must be something for someone as desperate as her. But an exhausting day spent knocking at the doors of charity agencies, churches and neighborhood councils produced not just words. "Everyone I ask for help tells me to go here or there," Rakovic said, giving way to fear and fatigue with a flood of tears. And then she was gone—despairing around the corner, back to her hungry family and her dying brother.

For some of Sarajevo's 360,000 people, the

IN SARAJEVO, SOME DEPRIVED CITIZENS REGARD THE UN RELIEF EFFORT AS A CRUEL DECEPTION



The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) distributed it through a network of private charity groups around the city. At the offices of one group, an Islamic charity called Markaz, desperate people were vainly hung up, only to be told that packages would be given out in their local neighborhoods. A young official, Mladen Salijevic, directed incoming reporters to an aid station at the Kovači Hill district of the city where, he said, needy families would receive help later that day. Up the hill, the local mosque's imam, Muamer Gadić, explained that he had only 340 parcels for 12,000 families. Each box contained food for a month: cooking oil, canned mushrooms, corned beef, sugar, tea, chess and concentrated milk. "This is our first shipment," Gadić said, "and

we are giving it to the people most in need: the refugees and the poor."

Gadić said that he had a list of the neediest families, who would receive food that day. But the list had been misplaced and the distribution would be delayed. It was scheduled for 8 p.m. A half-hour after that, about 60 young soldiers from the Bosnian Territorial Defense Forces, some carrying weapons, filed up to the aid center. One by one, Gadić called out their names and they walked out with the preordained parcels. Some happily posed for photographs

45-year-old American who is the UNHCR's chief of operations in Sarajevo. "We aren't trying to make these better fighters and risking the conflict." Gadić showed his own list of names and earlier packages of dried flora cheese were being eaten out of the boxes and sold on the black market and one Muslim community had been given American army combat pants, which contain large quantities of perch.

Journalists staying at the Holiday Inn hotel, a battered structure frequently targeted by Serbian mortars and snipers, found more evidence

World Notes

A DEAL IN ISRAEL

Prime minister-designate Shimon Peres signed agreements with two small parties, the ultra-orthodox Shas and the leftist Minutah Blue, ensuring his Labor Party-led coalition at least a 65-seat majority in Israel's 120-seat Knesset (parliament). Labor, which won 44 seats in June elections that ended a 15-year reign by the right-wing Likud, is committed to end the occupation of the occupied territories until sold-by early next year.

ASSESSING MISCONDUCT

A federal jury in New York found Seaboard Corp. America World Airways guilty of "willful misconduct" for lax security in baggage handling before a plane crashed on a Pan Am airliner hijacked by Lockerbie, Scotland, on Dec. 21, 1988, killing all 258 passengers and 11 on the ground. A further trial will assess the damages that are due to relatives of the victims.

A FIRST FOR POLAND

Poland's parliament elected Hanna Suchocka, a 46-year-old lawyer who leads a seven-party coalition as the country's first women prime minister. The vote followed the resignation of Prime Minister Włodzimierz Fisiak, who failed to form a government during a month in office.

CLOSING A CHAPTER

Career diplomat Thomas Klestil, 54, was sworn in as Austria's president, closing a personal chapter in the country's history. Klestil replaced 79-year-old Karl Waldheim, a former secretary general of the United Nations, who was largely selected by Western governments during his six-year term after it was disclosed that he served as an intelligence officer in the Nazi Wehrmacht in the Balkans.

AN ADMISSION OF GUILT

Official Tito, Tito acknowledged that during the Soviet War, Yugoslav government forces beat tens of thousands of women to work in sex slaves in brothels for imperial soldiers. Officials had earlier insisted that prostitutes, not the government, had operated the institutions, in which thousands of women died.

GO DIRECTLY TO JAIL

U.S. Federal Court Judge William Norville sentenced former Palestinian dictator Gen. Muammar Nagoya, convicted in April on eight counts of racketeering, money laundering and drug trafficking, to 40 years in prison. Nagoya argued that Washington helped him because he refused to let his country be dominated by the United States.

make the crowd disperse, a priority in an area where any gathering of people becomes an easy target for sniper fire.

Inside an exhausted-looking parish priest, Brother Josip, described how people started lining up outside at 5 a.m., even though he had announced that food would be handed out for another four hours. He confessed that many parishioners are convinced that the church is bearing the brunt. "They think we are just keeping it here," he said sadly. "For me, this is one of the worst things." A pale young man, Boško Ljubić, locked the doors against the crowd outside. "I feel terrible," he said. "I don't know how to explain to people that we don't have anything to give them."

Even without aid, most people in the besieged city are not threatened by starvation. Over in a few neighborhoods—Topčarija, for example, where about 20,000 people huddle in houses surrounded by Serbian soldiers—people find some leisure. For them, the war is easier. Dalmatia food only 100 m from Sarajevo's airport and, from their windows, no isolated people can see tons of food being loaded into the trucks. None of it can reach those through the Serbian blockade.

Most of the city's people, though, are surviving on a meagerous diet of bread, rice, macaroni and beans. Coffee is still widely available and the local bars still pump out the beer that people cart away in plastic jugs. At Sarajevo's main outdoor market at Marshal Tito Boulevard east morning last week, only a dozen of the 200 stalls were open, and the supplies were predictably inadequate. A few wild carrots and lettuce, peeling powder. Others offered dried chickpeas, which can be turned into a salad or boiled to make it a soup, while at least supplies were scarce.

But the past week was a supply of powdered cherries from a tree in someone's back-garden. Gordana Đulović, a 34-year-old economist, wrapped up a kilogram of cherries for her husband, Miodrag, and their two children. Still elegantly dressed after three months with intermittent water and electricity, Đulović gazed at the fruit with a weary smile.

"It was not easy, always crunched and twisted like," she said. "At this time of year, it should be overflowing with fresh fruits and vegetables from Dalmatia. Now, we're eating Sarajevo." The UN aid and Serbia, would make little difference to her family. "We've considered self-off," she said. "The houses aren't badly damaged and we've got some money, so we'll be at the bottom of the list for help."

At the top of the list are people like Fatmir Karić, a 43-year-old Muslim who was killed close to 65. Sixty and 10 other people died their houses six weeks ago when their spectacles were destroyed by grenades. Last week, they were sitting out a monsoon rainstorm in the underground parking garage of an apartment building within a couple of hundred meters of the Serbian Marshal's hotel in the heart of Sarajevo. Like thousands of other people who are now refugees in their own city, they moved into whatever they could find in their case, two parking spaces in the dank basement, which



Canadian peacekeepers unload relief supplies at the airport; Sarajevo residents drink water behind heavy fighting threatening a fragile life-line

at least affords protection from the random shelling that terrorizes people above ground. There, Karic's grieving, five-year-old Jaka, lay under a tattered blanket, shivering every in terror from visitors. They, at least, did get some UN help last week: a box of food destined to the sons being carried off by the Bosnian soldiers.

Above ground, Sarajevo's people attempt to carry on something resembling normal life, although when they sit down another what it is like outside, they are wondering about the intensity of the shooting, not the state of the weather. One woman, a widow, said that they are targets of sniper fire. Passengers wait in the shadows of crowded buses, their doors across the aisle to avoid bullets, their seats across the aisle to avoid sniper fire. That did not help four people on Friday morning, who died when a bus hit by rifle fire was set afire.

Near Marshal Tito Boulevard, Sarajevo's main street, can be abandoned—some ridged with bullet holes, some burned out and others cattered with shrapnel-disharmonies that are inevitable when drivers speed through the city to maneuver these squares to attack. Pedestrians quickly scurry across such open areas as the pedestrian arches bridges that cross the narrow Miljacka River. One small bridge is dedicated to Gavrilo Princip, the young man who, on June 28, 1914, assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary and sparked the First World War. At the north end of the bridge is a paving stone containing imprints of Princip's footprints in the position that he stood to fire the fatal shots. But even that monument has become a casualty of war, the paving stone has smashed in pieces.

Serbian leaders say that they want to partition the city and subdue control of mostly Serbian areas. Bei Životic cited that Sarajevo's population is so intermingled that such a plan would be impossible. Serbs, Croats and Muslims live on the same streets, in the same buildings, and necessarily. "Are they going to segregate us?

The anti-Serb resistance fighters of the Second World War, the country had not allowed any new ban on 25 years. But Serbian forces control so many of Sarajevo's newer graveyards that the City Council was forced to

Agree to accommodate the dead. Handloads of their remains now the ground, with the dead buried by religious background. Temporarily coexisting the government of Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs, rough wooden boards with pointed tops protect Muslim graves and heads adorned with red stars mark where declared atheists are buried. All, though, are the same as one respect: the date of their death needs 1993.

In the cemetery one afternoon last week, 23-year-old Iman Šarifović launched over a video camera filming the rows of new graves. Šarifović, who is studying film directing, was making a documentary, which he intends to call "Café Gospodin" to record the fate of his city. Like many other local people, he seemed stunned by what has happened in Sarajevo, unable to comprehend how remnants of anarchy yet peaceful coexistence among different ethnic groups dissolved within weeks into merciless slaughter. "It's like a bad dream," he said. "I can't believe how people used to go around with these guns with, are out there somewhere shooting at your family, shooting at your sister."

erry building," said Životic. "This is a Serb building, this is Muslim, this is a Croatian office shop? It's madness."

Životic spoke with simple eloquence of the terrible consequences of the war, of how the trust among different groups has been shattered forever. He seemed like a wave of moderation and reason, except for one startling aside. In a hoarse pouch on his belt he kept a hand grenade. "If someone goes crazy and says that 'Belgrade' is here," he said, "you just take me, I will explode this. I'll just explode this. I'll just explode this." Like most Sarajevoans, Životic was simultaneously dismayed of the UN relief effort. "Save it helps but musical notes and sandwiches are not what we need," he said. "We need weapons to defend ourselves."

That is also the message from the Presidency, the squat, dark, stone building in the city center that is the stronghold of Bosnia's beleaguered government. In president, Alija Izetbegović, went to the task arming, although last week he agreed to Western military intervention. But US President George Bush insisted his request for air strikes against Serbian artillery positions in the fifth round. Sarajevo.

In the Presidency building itself, government adviser Ibrahim Spahic outlined the Bosnia's precarious military position while the occasional mortar round exploded inside. The Serbs, who took over many heavy weapons from the Yugoslav army when it withdrew from Bosnia, have 900 tanks versus Sarajevo's 100, and Sarajevo, while the city's defenders have

just one. "Against such a large force, who knows how long they can fight?" he worried. Despite the bitter legacy of the past two months of fighting, Spahic and Životic's government still cling to the notion of a united city with all groups continuing under one government, as excessively unrealistic goal.

In fact, the government's authority is already crumbling, even in the areas of control, and real power passing to independent warlords and their private armies. The government's best hope of future legitimacy is centered to a unit in the headquarters of one of the city's new leaders, a Muslim army of former defectors known as John. Before the war, John, or really a 35-year-old gun-totting leader named Josip Pranćić, ran a private detective agency that was a cover for his real business of collecting debts, by force if necessary. But when fighting broke out in March, he recruited young men to the reserve special police force, now an official part of the Bosnian army. He commands about 5,000 men who operate alongside, but independently of, Bosnia's army.

In eager young recruits, dressed like refugees from a Mad Max movie, paraposters of their handbags leather and were led hot boots stamped with his picture. They call themselves "John's Wolves," after a song playing on local radio, and their shaved heads, scarves and buttons of the rock group Kiss on their mostly uniforms. Their bare-torsoed soldiers hunting out snags and rays to children and raise a soup kitchen in the Alpine hills area of the city, a neighborhood of high-priority buildings vulnerable to Serbian attack.

John's brother, Matilda Pranćić, 32, is positioned exactly in Black, complete with black leather gloves with the fingers cut off. He holds his on scratches, the legacy of a machine-gun attack two months ago that shattered his right leg. In the hospital's basement last week, since a child's birth, and now an elderly local with roofs of broken windows. Matilda Pranćić determinedly repels Bosnian soldiers as well. "It's John's commandos," he said, who do the toughest front-line fighting. "Only see the army people strong around in cold bars," he said.

John's Wolverines that they will not put down their weapons even after the war ends, but will remain as independent fighting force. The prospect for Sarajevo and all of Bosnia could hardly be bleaker. The leading forces show no signs of wanting to talk, let alone compromise. Local people talk despondently of peace, possibly decades, of sporadic fighting, a permanent state of semi-war that would turn Sarajevo into a Balkan Beirut. It is a prospect neatly captured by a slogan dashed on a wall alongside the wide boulevard that bisects Sarajevo's new sectors, just as the UN and convays reached all last week. It reads: "Welcome to hell."



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BABY BOOM TICKET

**CLINTON AND GORE
SIGNAL THE EMERGENCE
OF A NEW GENERATION OF
AMERICAN LEADERS**

They are both southerners, Ivy League university graduates, clutching family men and veteran political campaigners. They are also baby boomers, claiming the largest generation of American voters as their own. Last week, 45-year-old Arkansas Gov. William Clinton served his running mate in the race to unseat President George Bush on Nov. 3. Republicans say, Clinton and Gore are clearly numbered that their differences will appeal to voters. A five-term popular governor, Clinton is well versed in domestic affairs, particularly economics and education. Gore, who spent four terms in the House of Representatives before being elected to the Senate in 1986 and again in 1990, is an expert in the fields of environment, foreign policy, defense and arms control. "We have worked for the past 12 years in different ways to [solve] the problems America now needs the president to solve," said Clinton, referring to the Reagan and Bush era. "I think that's a case we can make to the American people."

Over the course of his campaign, Clinton has maneuvered away at Bush's economic policies, viewing that a Democratic administration will take a sharp turn away from Reaganomics by investing substantial amounts of time and energy to get reelected. Americans were a 2-page spread in *Newsweek* with one on each ticket, the Democrats are clearly on the road to beat Bush's running mate, Vice-President Dan Quayle, in the November election. Gore's family values and military service. The choice of Gore also signals the campaign's focus on the South, which has voted heavily Republican in the past three presidential elections as the key battleground. Although educated at Georgetown University, Oxford and Yale Law School, Clinton's roots are firmly planted in Arkansas. In 1986, Gore, a Harvard graduate who has spent much of his life in Washington, claimed the Tennessee town of Cartersville as his home. Said Myrlie Evers, an expert on political strategy at Atlanta's Emory University: "This is the rising moderate ticket, the southern, yuppie, middle-class, suburban ticket."

Character: The choice of Gore could help allay voter concerns about Clinton's character. While at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar in the late 1960s, Clinton says, he tried, but "didn't win," marijuana—an experience that earned him criticism as an squaresman. A question now still hangs over how he managed to evade military duty during the Vietnam War. And allegations by Gennifer Flowers, a sometime lounge singer from Little Rock who claimed that she had a 12-year affair with

the married Clinton, cast him in the role of a womanizer. Clinton denied the charges. And the issue has partly receded because of public support from his corporate lawyer wife, Hillary, who has taken an active role in Clinton's campaign adviser (page 24).

Gore, who ran an unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1986, is unshaken by scandal. Although five years ago he freely admitted to smoking pot in a House staffers (he did smoke), the disclosure brought no media scrutiny. The son of Democrat Albert Gore Sr., who spent 20 years representing Tennessee in the House and the Senate, Gore decided against running in Canada as a draft dodger, joined the army in 1969 and served in Vietnam despite his father's—opposition to the war. That attitude is stark contrast to the hawkish Quayle, who fought a war seven in the British National

Guard. In a thinly disguised swipe at Quayle last week, Clinton said of Gore: "The man standing beside me today has what it takes to lead this nation from the day we take office."

Gore, a devoted father of four, also brings a pre-familial element to the ticket. Last August, he cited family reasons for his decision not to challenge Clinton for the Democratic nomination. "I would like to be president," he said at the time. "But I am also a father, and I feel deeply about my responsibility to my children." Gore's son, Albert II, had only recently recuperated from surgery to correct nerve damage sustained in a 1989 jet accident—another. Meanwhile, Gore's wife, Mary Elizabeth (Tipper) Gore, who campaigns when Jones feels ill with aches, drugs or viruses. That may also provide a cushion in Gore's wife, who carries the moniker "Mother" for the White House.

Gore's 38 years on Capitol Hill could prove instrumental in convincing Clinton to nominate him. "Clinton is the president to come, so he will be working with a legislature controlled by his own party," political analyst Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution, a nonpartisan Washington think-tank. "And it will be particularly useful to have someone who truly understands that body and can interpret it for him, and in turn interpret him to the legislature." Clinton said that Gore would play "a leadership role" in a Democratic administration. "I'm going to send him to Capitol Hill to take the lead in passing our programs in the first 100 days."

Aid to Africa: Based on Gore's voting record in Congress, a Democratic victory in November would also give Canada a strong ally. Gore is a prominent environmentalist who supported the U.S. Clean Air Act that led to the landmark anti-carbon酸 act imposed by Ottawa and Washington last year. And, at last month's United Nations Earth Summit in Brazil, Gore urged Bush, although unsuccessfully, to join Canada in signing a treaty to protect plant and animal species, and another to cut the world's carbon dioxide levels. He also voted in favor of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement in 1986, and in giving the White House "fast-track" approval to negotiate a North American trade deal.

The last Democratic ticket to win the White House, Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Walter Mondale of Minnesota in 1976, did not have heavy southern support. But by breaking the political tradition of choosing a running mate from a different region of the country, Clinton runs the risk of alienating many non-southern voters. Said Emory University's Black: "From outside the South, people may find it hard to tell Clinton and Gore apart." As political pundits are wont to ask, will it play in Peoria? Clinton is clearly convinced that his gamble in picking a running mate from a neighboring state will pay off on election day, opening the way for the Clinton-Gore team to turn the United States in new directions.



ANDREW BLAISSE with contributions by

DOWN HOME IN CLINTON'S DIXIE

In southwest Arkansas, down is a stretch of two-lane highway that loops the railway line on the Paths of the Ozarks between the tiny town of Hope and the larger but equally unremarkable city of Texarkana, 45 km to the west. Older residents called Highway 67 the "Bleeding of America" because it reached out to the great distant cities of Chicago and Dallas. But at home, the road is also a line that splits the state diagonally. To the south and east are expansive cotton fields with their searing history of slavery to the north and west rise the Ozark Mountains, which harbored the quirky, isolated life of the hillbilly. And along Highway 67 in the remote southwest corner of Arkansas, where the cultures of South and West converge, such towns as Hope and Texarkana have been infused with what 24-year-old Hope resident George Clinton calls a frontier spirit, where people are independent, trusting, generous—and not afraid to take a chance.

Holiday, indeed. In a strange political season, the sons of that small pocket of the country have ventured out from the back of beyond to run for president of the United States. From Texarkana, which straddles the Texas-Arkansas border, comes underground lawmaker and independent candidate Henry Bell Price. And from neighboring Hope just up the road comes William Clinton, who became the youngest governor in his state's history and who this week accepts the Democratic party's nomination as its candidate in the Nov. 3 presidential election. Punged by a southwestern upbringing from the now tainted world of Washington politics, both men stand a good chance of defeating George Bush, a president whose coifs are embedded in upper-class America—the area of a wealthy Connecticut family who came of age in the House of business establishment and who is now the conservative Washington insider.

By comparison, Price and Clinton present themselves as outsiders strewn in the values of Middle America. "The mentality here is a million miles away from Washington," says

Cynthia Carter, a 28-year-old mother, as she watched her children roller-skating in a Texarkana park. "Sometimes, I think we're in another country."

For many Americans, Arkansas is a million miles away. A largely rural state of 2.65 million people, it has traditionally been the last of states about its hillbilly image—even if my trout mountain men still also are more likely to be found in swing houses. "We all know how everyone thinks of us, backwoodsy, backward, and wearing cowboy hats like on *Highway 67*," acknowledged Fayetteville lawyer Todd Russell, as he circulated through a well-heeled crowd at a shrimp boil hosted in a modern trailer by a pragmatic local legal firm. Even in the South, there is widespread ignorance about Arkansas: "We never forget our mother's exact whereabouts," I told her. I was moving to Fayetteville, Ark., and my student Sarah Swettner, 36, recited a conversation with her mother, who lives in North Carolina: "They're all hillbillies. They're really ignorant in their."

There is some truth to Arkansas' well-worn image. It remains, by most measures, one of the five poorest states in the United States. But Arkansas shelters some of America's richest people and corporations. The recently deceased Sam Walton, who founded the Wal-Mart discount store chain and became one of America's richest men, took his fortune from headquarters in Bentonville, in the state's northwest corner.

Northwest Arkansas is also the chicken capital of the world, hatching, growing and processing about one billion of them every year for sale in such far-flung markets as Japan. In the Ozarks, the hillbilly culture has receded into the tourist shops that line the scenic highways, replaced by a mix of religious fundamentalists and back-to-the-land hippies who migrated there in the 1960s. The hills are also home to a scary fringe: neo-Nazi paramilitary groups and white supremacists, led by Rev. Dean Keith, the grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Arkansas has a troubled history of race relations. But it also has a record of electing politicians known for their



Bill Clinton
Photo by Alan Light



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY L. HARRIS FOR TIME

Arkansas, progressive and, it is the Arkansas of paradox that fascinates the politics and character of Bill Clinton, a five-term governor now running for the highest office in America.

"I had a pretty normal Arkansas childhood; we didn't have much money but I didn't ever feel disadvantaged," Bill Clinton tells a group of 14- and 15-year-olds who are gathered on the terrace of Henderson State College in Arkadelphia. The teenagers, most of whom financially or emotionally troubled home lives, are part of a Clinton-sponsored youth program aimed at encouraging them to stay in school. For years, Arkansas treated all other areas as educational models, and Clinton made school reform a cornerstone of his administration.

"The first time I went to Washington, I was 21, and I was so naive about how things work," he says. "I think it gives me a Navy-like Sunday afternoon, a sense of how our country runs like a team, where no one ever had a culture education."

The son of a movie, and a father who died in a car accident three months before he was born, Clinton spent his first seven years in Hope. He was raised mostly by his maternal grandparents. His grandfather delivered ice and ran a small grocery store, but money was always tight and living conditions were basic. The Second World War veterans who returned to Hope in 1946, the year Clinton was born, came home to a small town where cotton was the struggling cash crop and light industry consisted of a brickyard and a tinsmith factory.

Eventually, Freda Greenway, the daughter of a wealthy Illinois farmer, transformed Hope's economy. Greenway was an entrepreneur long before it was a fashionable role for women. "Freda wanted to show her father that a woman could run a business," says Carl Stewart Jr., 68, a lifelong Hope resident and now the treasurer of Hempstead County, where the town is located. "She started the chicken and cattle business in that area that changed the cotton out." With the cotton went away, so did the men, but women—most from Missouri—migrated to northern cities to find jobs.

Now, although poverty remains rampant in Hope's economy, the town of 16,000 has developed a manufacturing sector that produces such products as high-quality audio speakers. Yet Hope remains best known for its claim that it grows the world's largest watermelon, some weighing up to 300 lb. Its love affair with "A slice of the good life," and every April Hope holds a watermelon festival that attracts more than 75,000 visitors. Events like that, says Stewart, are what perpetuate Arkansas' backwater image at the rest of the country. "We're always getting looked in the teeth because we're from Arkansas," he said wryly. "People up north are surprised to learn that we can watch the World Series at 7:00 p.m. here."

It is a complaint repeated around the state. Lepor company executive James Phillips, 37, a native of Parson City, in eastern Arkansas, laughs knowingly when describing the state's image. "Arks are supposed to always be chewing on a weed and wearing overalls and I guess that's fine because it probably has a lot of folks from memory," he said. "But I would never tell them that if I became president, he would show the country that Arkansas has smart people who don't all talk funny. He could change our image."

Hope's Hempstead County has been dry since the end of the Second World War. It is the nearly resort town of Hot Springs, at the foot of the Ozarks, where people from Hope still go if they want a drink and a big

night out. Hot Springs was where Clinton grew up after his mother married Roger Clinton, whose namesake Bill would take at 15. And in the Hot Springs of the late 1950s and early 1960s, liquor flowed, the Goldmark race track beckoned and illegal gambling and brothels flourished under the averted eyes of local authorities. Even since the mid-1960s, visitors have been attracted to the regulated healing powers of the town's thermal baths. Some of the tourists were governors, including Al Capone, who owned Suite 643 in the graceful Arkansas Hotel for his annual visits in the late 1950s. The embodiment of lawlessness and all that was wrong with the South, and all visitors to that "Hell probably want to fly from the night."

In addition to its old-time charms, the 1978 article in *Newsweek*'s magazine noted that while Hot Springs had once been "a good deal of the rough gambling, drinking and shooting life, at present the town is quiet and orderly," although the winter of 1977 was "the peak of the gambling, shooting and shooting life."

As in so many other old-time towns, the 1978 article noted that while Hot Springs had once been "a good deal of the rough gambling, drinking and shooting life, at present the town is quiet and orderly," although the winter of 1977 was "the peak of the gambling, shooting and shooting life."

Set criminals rarely left Hot Springs for long. During the 1880s and early 1900s Prohibition period, Chicago, New York and Miami mobsters would divide a house in two and travel to Hot Springs to relax. Most local politicians were willing to tolerate the visitors, especially LaFayette McLoughlin, the mayor from 1917 until the 1950s. The colorful McLoughlin is perhaps best remembered for his son, son of Robert Moses' "Socony" and "Socony," which he used to drive down Cicero Avenue. He was finally driven from office by Sidney McMath, a crusading lawmaker who later became a state governor. McMath ruled a group of enraged veterans to passage against corruption, part of what became known statewide as the "El Rivas" Revolt.

Even so, Hot Springs remained a wide-open town throughout Clinton's teenage years. "You assume it, you could say it here," recalled Watson Hays Jr., who, for 25 years, has sold ads for *The Sentinel Record*, Hot Springs' daily newspaper. "It was a small-scale version of Las Vegas." During Clinton's youth, local nightclubs like the Vipers featured such performers as Pugie Miller, Xavier Cugat and Shirley Bassey. And a local madame, Mamacita Jones, ran the biggest brothel in town. In her controversial memoir published in 1983, Jones described Hot Springs as infected with corruption, where a share of the profits from "the Mamas," as her house on Pala Street was known, was diverted to politicians and politicians. A federal justice department report in the early 1950s said that Hot Springs had the largest illegal gambling operation of any state.

Despite his surroundings, Clinton avoided trouble, may those who know him. He is a consummate fixer, throughout his classic 1964 graduating yearbook, "The Old Gold Book," from Hot Springs High School. There, among other things, he played quarterback on the all-state band and with the Elk's Youth Leadership Award. That was the impossible to become one of the town's wildcats, especially when he headed west of the Rockies in 1964. "Just through luck, every person in town knew what was going on," says Carl White, who for 25 years was an art director based in Hot Springs and a now the town's sheriff. "The reputation of the law



Arthur Schaffer at Springdale chicken plant: about a billion birds every year

birds are dead now, but they were here when I was growing up," said 58-year-old Cleo Adams, who lives and works in the hollow.

The remnants of the Ozarks extend into white hillsides, mostly descended from Scotland and Irish immigrants who had pushed westward from the Appalachians. However, to impose the same broad of land and mountain in the hills. They earned a wide range from hunting or from small farms. And the combination of low price and a healthy white population encouraged blacks from settling in the hills. "The cost of the resources, poor country and people here down made it pretty clear in blocks that they had better get out before someone," said Alberta (Alberta) Wells, who has lived outside Mount Jades for numerous "Jude" in Newton County since the early 1970s. Wells said that racism makes it "tough to be a black and live here. This is not Clinton country."

Wells taught English in the local school for three years before giving up teaching to raise her four sons. "And the only looks I could get from-toes look at were encouraging or basketball. They didn't want to know because few of them have any interest in ever learning the Goods."

But it has been impossible to keep other influences out. Television's influence started the rotation of the hills and soon Hollywood and New York seem to bring the message that Arkansas has changed. The image of the Clampet family in *The Beverly Hillbillies* may have been the way 1960s television writers saw the Ozarks. But Kershaw's career as a network television series set in the northern Arkansas town of that name, follows the Newton family, whose father is a high school football coach and whose mother works as a teacher. The similarly folksy football show, now mostly for tourists. Further south on Highway 7, at otherwise unassuming road, in the theme park of Doggett, whose equivalent of Disney's Mickey Mouse and Goofy are the characters from Al Capone's L.V. Afternoon strip. "I'm not embarrassed by our image of 40," said Adams of Doggett Hollow. "Especially," she added with a smile, "if we can make money off it."

Motion money is northwest Arkansas and most people see chickens. Thousands of them, 8-10 million along each production line—loaded upside down through photo where they have their neck cut, their feathers plucked, their innards evacuated and then are frozen into nuggets, legs, petals or any of the other myriad chicken delights. And in Arkansas chicken country, one company in town, Tyson Foods, Inc., which had sales of \$4.7 billion in 1991 and employ 22,000 people in Arkansas alone.

Tyson has grown mainly by buying out competitors so it now controls half of the poultry industry at the state. To make sure the most stable target for environmentalists, who loudly suggest that the industry has polluted groundwater and streams in the state with chicken waste. Activists have accused Clinton of trading away environmental protection just for economic growth, although that have been implied nationally and damaged his presidential campaign.

The companies deny the charges,



Hot Springs Sheriff Clay White: wolf-open and wild



MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
TENNESSEE
MISSOURI RIVER
RED RIVER
WHITE RIVER
NEOSHO RIVER
Benton
Garland
Fayetteville
Texarkana

arguing that economic growth in the region is responsible for say environmental degradation. And they are forces with Clinton for what they say is the governor's apologetic tone at answering his critics. Earlier this month, an outraged John Tyson, the company's vice-chairman of operations, met with Clinton in Little Rock to, as he put it, "get Bill to stop talking the chicken industry, because when people think chickens they think Tyson."

The uneasy relationship between one of the state's biggest employers and the governor is unusual for Clinton, who has carefully cultivated the co-operation of big business. The two are personal friends. Tyson's chief counsel, a key member of the Clinton campaign, and Hillary Clinton sits on the boards of two of the state's largest companies, Wal-Mart and Tyson Foods Inc., the poultry company whose name is visible on top of one of Little Rock's tallest buildings.

The governor has been criticized for his ties to business. But the northwest corner—near the poorest part of the state—is also its largest growing region, attracting citizens from other states who are lured by its pretty landscape and low cost of living. "Arkansas was always a place that people flew over to get somewhere else," said Joyce Hale of a suburban Fayetteville garden party. "This area is the best-kept secret in the country."

Indeed, Arkansas' old-money families tend to take a coolblood view of the northwest's newfound affluence. A stereotypical local story recounts an argument at a meeting of the Arkansas Business Council—a business lobby group better known as the Good Soil Club—between Charles Murphy of Eli Durst & Murphy Oil (family assets \$164 million) and Wal-Mart's Sonny Weston (family assets \$15 billion). "Sonny, you may be richer than me, but I've been richer longer."

It is a hot Sunday morning in Little Rock, and the air-conditioning at the First United Baptist Church is straining to keep the temperature down. Arkansas Circuit Court Judge Alvin Clegg, standing alone and carrying an unconvincing smile, has just presided over a wedding. Rev. Carter Colley has fought aough to deliver the message from the Book of Deuteronomy 32:37 that everyone should submit or without sparing demons try them. In a boisterous style fit it is unlikely that Nebuchadnezzar ever threatened to burn anyone's mouth ("empty center"), he tells the almost all-white crowd: "We are told as fathers and as leaders." But, he adds, "God's real miracle is to take you through tough times rather than getting you out of a bad situation."

Church doors open past the collection plates. While solo organ music plays, they move grudgingly down the aisles passing the deep gold-gloved bowls. By contrast, there is nothing choreographed about what is going on in our block across the street: the Second Holy Temple Church of God in Christ. The service in the small, stuffy wooden church is an unashamedly pearly celebration. The organ is used by drama and a trumpet. The congregation shows off its praise for God. And the sides are filled with singing, dancing worshippers.

In Arkansas, as in much of the South, an unofficial segregation persists. Although no one is officially barred, blacks and whites seldom sit in their own churches and synagogues. Self-taught Rev. Al as he stands outside the Mount Zion Baptist Church in a poor black Little Rock neighborhood, "There may be less racism now, but the South is still color-wise." Added mosque Imam Karem Hughes: "Mixed couples still get stared at here."



Perr and Hughes in Little Rock; and color-wise

But many blacks say that the greatest threats to their communities are drugs and poverty. Said Hughes: "We're just like other Americans cities now, with drive-by shootings. Drugs are strong among black communities." In Pine Bluff, upper-middle-class 55 km south of Little Rock, James McMillan, 48, who remembers the violence that the South experienced during the 1960s' civil rights crusade, agreed. "Things are better for blacks now in lots of ways since those days," he said. "But more afraid of gangs—black or white—than of being attacked because of my race."

Bert Perr and that black-still-face entrenched obstacles in trying to get ahead economically in such small southern states as Arkansas. "Little Rock is still run by the good-old-boy clubs—old families with old money," he said with some anger. With more sadness, he added, "That's why you see areas of great wealth in this city, and areas that are still terribly, terribly poor."

The Fourth of July fireworks were just hours away, but already the demonstrators over Texarkana had put on a spectacular soap and light show of their own. Afterwards, as a park on the Texas side of the city of 55,000, the Wrayford family gathered for a holiday picnic. In the city where Ross Perot grew up, Bob Wrayford, 89, remembered attending a civics class with the man who would one day mount a remarkable independent run for the presidency. "Ross was more interested in running with the boys back then," she recalled. "It only 16 leaves that he was going to make so much money, 16 have shown more interests."

Perot has not left much of a visible mark on Texarkana, other than to refurbish the old Singer Theatre and rename it after his family. But Texarkana certainly left a mark on Perot. In numerous interviews, he has recalled his childhood experiences in the spirit of the National Book Award-winning *American Childhood*, reflecting on stories he shared with his parents on the virtues of hard work and close-knit families.

Like so many American towns and cities, there is little Reconstruction imagery left in Texarkana. All through the South, town squares with their Confederate monuments become deserted by evening. Most activity has shifted to the strip malls, motels and fast-food restaurants that line the interstate highways. In Texarkana, a Blockbuster Video store stands where an old cotton mill used to be. Complaining about "big influences," Wrayford said: "We kept the race track here for a long time, but now it's here. And we put got the lottery." Texarkana does remain dry—on the Texas side, at least. Anyone who wants to buy alcohol past bar to transcross the border to Little Rock by crossing State Line Avenue, where the eastern half of the street is a paradise of neon signs advertising beer and liquor stores.

Jerry La Garen, 31, an unemployed lab technician, says that she prefers Clinton to Perot, but notes that Arkansas needs a president from the South to get through its current difficulties. "In the North," she said as smoke from her Marlboro Lights hung in the air, "narratives imply a statistic. But southerners take the time to understand people." As an old-time southerner, she argued, Clinton and Perot "know how to deal with people one-on-one. It's like they've got a degree in psychology." The likes of small towns have changed, but many Americans still look for answers in these values, however idealized. And the message is: would-be presidents: a clear, do not forget where you come from.



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MASSACHUSETTS

A BLUEPRINT FOR CHANGE

CLINTON UNVEILS HIS ECONOMIC PLAN

In a presidential election year, the largely black audience might have been expected to welcome the Democratic candidate with rapturous applause. But last week, just five days before the start of the Democratic national convention, 5,000 delegates to an African Methodist Episcopal Church conference in Orlando, Fla., clapped politely but without enthusiasm, when Arkansas Gov. William Clinton responded to a clause in his campaign platform that called for change. "What we have to do is change," the tone-deaf Clinton said. "We have to rebuild this country. We have to unite this country." The rapid maturing of the Black voters, traditionally a pillar of Democratic support, exposed one of the tests that Clinton will face after he is crowned at the New York City convention this week, convincing voters that he is capable of reversing the country's growing social and economic woes. "I think Clinton is pulling the right buttons," said James Nelson Brown, a minority-affairs consultant. "But he is not yet reading the people."

Such ambivalence in the American electorate will have to change, analysts say, if Clinton is to become the first black leader to win the White House. The 45-year-old Democratic standard-bearer, they contend, has to reinforce his image from that of a drift-budging phenomene, labeled "Slick Willy" by his opponents, to a presidential mediator representing a new generation of leadership in America. Bleeding but unbowed by one of the most bruising primary seasons in American history, Clinton has had to convince a broad group of Negro white candidates that the Democrats, guided by the "Let's Get Started Party," are ready to lead the country's flagging economy. At the Orlando convention, reflecting a church hymn, which includes the fighting words, "Let us march on victory is ours," Clinton campaign spokesman Ted Das Myrra insisted: "He has a plan and a strategy for getting this country back on track."

With opinion polls showing Clinton, President George Bush and undisclosed independent Ross Perot in a close three-way race, analysts argue that Clinton must emerge from his party's convention in Orlando less than week. After urging the African Methodist Episcopal bishops to use their pulpits to inspire their congregations to register and vote, Clinton declared: "We want to be first in jobs and housing and education and health-care and transportation for

all and empowerment and responsibility." In his convention southern accent, he added: "We can make the American dream live again in the lives of all Americans."

Many members of the black church claim that, for them, the American dream was destroyed by Republican policies launched under Ronald Reagan and continued by Bush. Republicans cut taxes for the rich and for business on the premise that they would, in turn, invest in the economy and provide jobs. Instead, critics argue, the laissez passé paid the way for the country's worst economic performance since the 1930s. Said John Adams, an African Methodist Episcopal bishop in Atlanta: "You

will budget \$16 billion over four years for additional public investment. The money would be spent on building up the country's decaying, mostly urban, infrastructure of roads, bridges, seaports and communications systems.

In addition, it is proposed in return a poorly educated and demoralized workforce must meet the country's changing industrial needs. And Jeffrey Foss, president of the liberal Washington-based Economic Policy Unit, "The program recognizes the importance of government programming the economy in the shorter term and creating to make it more productive in the longer term."

In a sharp departure from supply-side eco-

nomic capital, as has been done in Germany, France and Japan.

That new industrial development strategy is a radical break from traditional Democratic party economic engineering. Instead of using government handouts to support declining industries and the unions, the party plans to use tax dollars to stimulate creating new industries. Now, said Harvard economist Robert Reich, who was an architect of the Clinton formula, "there is a very clear choice" between the Republican and Democratic platforms. Said Reich: "There are two very different economic philosophies."

But before Clinton can execute his strategy,

he must first

win the presidential election.

And many obstacles remain between him and the Oval Office.

Last week, Floyd Brown, a Washington-based conservative activist, announced a new campaign attacking Clinton's character. It was

Brown who, in 1986, was behind

the notorious TV ads that blamed Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, the Democratic candidate, for a rape committed by convicted Willie Horton while he was on a weekend furlough from a state prison. This year, Brown has opened a Nevada telephone line that disgruntled voters can call to hear titillating details on Clinton's alleged dalliance with assistance Arkansas lounge singer Gennifer Flowers.

Clinton: He has survived blistering personal attacks during the primaries, Clinton, unlike Dukakis, has already shown that he can fight back. "He's certainly not gonna own the other check," said Clinton's campaign director, Bruce Lipton. Referring to the Arkansas governor's opponents, he added: "They artful, but I'll respond."

At best, the Clinton campaign is responding to the attack as a chance to attack on the trifling Bill and Peet. And while others insist that Clinton would prefer to emphasize policy issues alone, he is also capable of fighting a more negative campaign.

Now joined with a well-motivated economic plan and backed with vice-presidential candidate Al Gore, an equally powerful running mate, Clinton has tried to position himself as the agent for change that so many Americans are dying for. And for some voters, the fact that he has won the brutal personal attacks and emerged to win his party's nomination is another sign of his mettle. "Most men would have cracked and run," said Bishop Adams at the Orlando church conference. "But this man has stayed with it despite the assault on his character." And that, Atkins concluded, is a much greater test of character.



Clinton campaigning in the South: a sharp departure from Rossington

series of union tactics. While the Bush administration was further battered on the economic front with the release of figures showing that the national unemployment rate had risen to 7.8 per cent, the worst since the recession began, Clinton named a bold new economic plan—referred to as "sovereign wealth"—by several economic Nobel laureates.

Despite Clinton's push that there's no room

left in the economy for the likes of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, presidents who once up during times when voters yearned for change. In the past two weeks, Clinton has had an opportunity to polish his tarnished image while Perot and Bush seemed each

time, Clinton's 30-page plan shifts once of the tax burden to the top two per cent of Americans, whose own incomes and share of the national wealth soared dramatically in the 1980s while their share of the tax burden fell. Clinton's plan relies on military cuts to finance the new policy investment.

But it also aims to diversify the industrial development skills of the Pentagon, long the sole source of government-sponsored innovation in the economy. In such civilian industries as vertical takeoff and landing aircraft, high-speed trains, and the pharmaceuticals industry, Clinton's blueprint for global economy, a nation's most vital resources will be a highly trained workforce and a well-developed infrastructure, both of which require massive investment of gov-

ernment capital, as has been done in Germany, France and Japan.

That new industrial development strategy is a radical break from traditional Democratic party economic engineering. Instead of using government handouts to support declining industries and the unions, the party plans to use tax dollars to stimulate creating new industries. Now, said Harvard economist Robert Reich, who was an architect of the Clinton formula, "there is a very clear choice" between the Republican and Democratic platforms. Said Reich: "There are two very different economic philosophies."

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MACLEAN'S JULY 29, 1992 33

THE POLITICAL WIFE

HILLARY CLINTON REDEFINES HER ROLE

A politico but, a double strand of pearls, a preference for pink. These are the signs of American womanhood, which have been presidential symbols of the past. As a prominent public figure with no constitutionally defined role, the first lady of the United States has historically been relegated to the shadow behind her husband on the hustings and looking the part during his campaign. For the more enterprising among them, there was the opportunity to embrace such "motherhood" images as those of the beneficent mother of America's children, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who emerged from her box seats, shawl and all, to support her political master, and keep on the infection rate. Indeed, she frequently learned of Franklin D. Roosevelt's major decisions, including his 1938 candidacy for the office of governor of New York, over the radio.



Clinton with New York supporters. "If you elect Bush, you get one."

social changes that are now under way," says Jane Deewitt, executive director of the bipartisan Washington-based Women's Campaign Fund. "An American struggle to come to grips with the altered role of women, it's reflected and magnified at a time of political division."

"Although some political observers have dismissed the 'Billary noise' and the surrounding debate about the evolving role of the political spouse, an unabashed admirer, Heath or Macleay, an associate professor of political science at the University of Western Ontario, stated that the couple's wife can be a crucial campaign factor. 'Party lines and politics are so ingrained and so unclear that voters are left with a collection of personalities to judge,' he writes. 'With all the logic and clarity, spouses

can be one solid clue to a candidate's character." MacAvoy added that the attention given Clinton as the wife of a presidential candidate is legitimate because she has been so involved

About her intention to influence top-level decisions of how the board is selected.

But despite her outgoing disposition, Cleo has shown a willingness to adapt and to refine her public image when required. In 1982, she took her husband's surname—shortening her maiden name, Reiter, for several years—to enhance the association her campaign

Cokie: Ten years later Clinton is again five-times her senior in response to a poll showing that George Bush, 66, will be the most popular president ever. "I'm older now," she says. "On the campaign trail, 'she' has replaced 'we' in speeches addressing voters to 'support my husband,' rather than 'us.' She has also renamed herself in protecting the American women's magazine *Family Circle* with her favorite childhood chapstick as its logo. "They know how to give me a makeover," she says. "I look like Jackie." That's right, Jackie. —C.J.

In the past, political wives who were less sensitive to public opinion had put a priority on communicating around Edith Wilson's "ringed" and naming a "petticoat government" after her husband. When Wilson's health became fragile in 1918, Secretary of State Robert Lansing, director of the Foreign Service, and his wife, Elizabeth, traveled to Europe to take care of him. It was revealed that she attended President Wilson's cabinet meetings. Nancy Wilson received more criticism for playing a large role in the politics than for spilling orange juice on Adlai's dress and Lease's chair for the White House. What it comes down to is whether American voters can still willing accept a divided political solution in a first-past-the-post system. In this case, there is little doubt that Hillary Clinton has broken new ground for female political contestants—and their spouses.

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Moscow Stock Exchange: the Russian economy remains shackled by a complex and bureaucratic legal system

BUSINESS

DODGING THE ISSUES

A gainst the opulent and slightly whimsical backdrop of a 19th-century police office once occupied by the Russian czars, Russian President Boris Yeltsin turned to the practical business of rebuking his country's demolished economy. Invited to speak with the leaders of the seven most Western industrialized nations at a three-day economic summit in Munich last week, Yeltsin declared that Russia wanted \$25 billion in Western aid, but would not "beg it or come home." In fact, Yeltsin complained about Western trade restrictions that he labelled excessive. Thus, in an effort that started Western leaders, almost tapping Soviet Prime Minister Boris Jel'zin from his chair, Yeltsin said that he was prepared to "go boldly" and repudiate rules, barriers, controls and taxes for relief from at least part of Russia's estimated \$80 billion in external debt. Said a senior Canadian official at the meeting, who spoke on condition of anonymity: "It was not work, but a show that Yeltsin is committed to

BORIS YELTSIN EMERGES AS THE ONLY WINNER FROM ANOTHER OPULENT AND INCONCLUSIVE ECONOMIC SUMMIT

do whatever he can to stimulate investment."

The apparent commitment and resolve were in stark contrast to the deadlock and inertia that gripped the Group of Seven (G-7) leaders at their 18th annual economic summit. Optimistic pre-meeting predictions from officials that the seven leaders would launch a united effort to revive the stumbling global

economy and resolve long-standing trade disputes quickly evaporated after the heads of government of Canada, the United States, Japan, Britain, France and Italy sat down with host German Chancellor Helmut Kohl on July 6. Beset by domestic political and economic woes, the cautious members of the world's most elite club opted by plodding only to contain their own widely divergent campaigns against inflation, high deficits and rising unemployment. Even Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who claimed a success for Canadian diplomacy when the summit's final communiqué included a reference to reducing unemployment, and later that that victory and other modest accomplishments would have some effect on the immediate problems that plague domestic and global economies. At best, Mulroney said, "Ten years down the line, you can measure the value of these impacts."

The summit's most visible failure was the

Western leaders' inability to break years of deadlock over the stalled General Agreement

on Tariffs and Trade negotiation. As the meeting began, observers expressed optimism about a plan by Britain's Major for compromise over the apparently irreconcilable stumbling block of agriculture subsidies. Major argued that a resolution to the persistent differences between the United States and the European Community over the issue was the key to fostering economic stability in Europe. And he has unequivocally carried parlance weight because he is the newest president of the European Commission, the European Community's revolving leadership.

Despite Major's plan, however, neither the Europeans nor U.S. President George Bush appeared ready to give up the matter of subsidies. And in the end, the Western leaders simply decided that the G-7 "expects" that an agreement can be reached before the end of 1992—"echoing nearly identical declarations produced at the two previous economic summits. As one senior Canadian finance official told Maclean's, "To be blunt, acting has really been done [on this issue] over the past year."

The reluctance of Western leaders to tackle their differences over trade underlined the interference of domestic politics at the summit. With the exception of Britain, all the G-7 governments will face congressional elections in November within the next 18 months. Neither Germany's Kohl, hamstrung by the unexpectedly high costs of German unification, nor Japanese Prime Minister Ichirō Mizushima, braving a series of intense pending scandals on the eve of his July election, was willing to lower interest rates to speed economic growth. French President François Mitterrand, distin-

tially the only leader to take a stand, insisted that the European delegation had achieved at least some modest success at the summit. In particular, he cited a call for an international conference on migratory fish stocks that could help the embattled East Coast fishery.

Despite those minor and major claims to victory, the 1992 summit provided more setbacks than successes. Even Bush bemoaned publicly about the need for a yearly gathering, while Mulroney suggested that the U.S. economy was so dismal that Bush could hold a "G-1" and hold it in his basement. Said Mulroney: "We could never get Mr. Bush around to come to us; he doesn't know what to do."

In the increasingly confused evolution of the principles of economic summitry, the idea did not appear entirely misplaced.

E. KATE FULTON
with
ROBERT JOHN DALY
in
Toronto



Business Notes

LIGHTENING THE LOAD

Air Canada announced that it will eliminate 1,600 jobs by Nov. 16, reducing its workforce to 15,300. The reductions will affect flight attendants, ticket agents and ground crews. The airline lost \$228 million last year, and Hilti Hennig, the U.S.-based executive who took over as Air Canada president in February, said that the reductions are necessary because the airline is still a "high-cost operator."

DAY'S NEW STRIKE

Bellevue, Toronto-based developer Olympia & York Developments Ltd. acknowledged that it lost \$2.1 billion in the fiscal year ending last Jan. 31. It also disclosed that its U.S. subsidiary has finalized its debt service by several office buildings in that country, but added that creditors have agreed for the time being not to sue the properties.

JOKE STRIKE ENDS

About 1,600 unionized workers at The Home Depot, Canada's largest supermarket, ended a 31-day strike after going to arbitration to settle the pay raise to delay action to trim delivery staff. A spokesman for the firm, which published during the strike, said that the paper would receive normal publication this week.

ASPIRE BOWS OUT

Managing entrepreneur J. H. (Garry) Aspinwall, chairman of CanWest Global Communications Corp., withdrew from a consortium seeking a license for a \$10-billion television network in Britain after other shareholders rejected his demand for management control. Britain's independent Television Commission will decide in October whether to license the network.

LOOKING FOR WORK

Statistics Canada reported that the nation's unemployment rate rose to 11.6 per cent in June, up from 11.2 per cent in May and the highest level since September 1984. The number of jobs actually grew by 30,000, but that increase was offset by a larger number of people looking for work at the end of the school year.

FALLING BRIDGES

Ottawa rejected proposals from two groups seeking to build a bridge to Prince Edward Island, leaving only a more expensive bid by the existing Fredericton-based Tatamagouche Bridge Co. to now the only firm bidding to build the \$100-million steel that will replace the trestles that have linked the island province to the mainland since Confederation.

A costly wrong number

Alberta adds up the bill for a phone fiasco



Technician examining a NovAtel phone. *Deacon (below) uncontrolled spending*

When the Alberta government launched NovAtel Communications Ltd. in 1983, it was intended to free the province from its dependence on others and expand it into a brave new world of high-technology industry. Instead, the nine-year adventure in the manufacturing of cellular telephone equipment has turned into financial nightmares that has cost the province's taxpayers at least half a billion dollars. Much of the money vanishes in a flurry of leveraged, controlled lending to a host of small startup telephone systems in the United States. Last week, as a team of government-appointed examiners gathered on the 12th floor of a suburban Calgary office tower to begin the task of determining how much of that money is likely to be repaid, Albertans were also reading the consequence of the costly venture in its June 29 Creditmark report, the deliberating agency Standard & Poor's Corp. of New York City sharply downgraded the province's financial outlook—an action likely to tempt Alberta home to impose charges on its future borrowing.

Meanwhile, apposite politicians attacked Premier David Curnier's Conservative government for allowing the financial chaos to continue after they replaced Peter Lougheed in power in 1985. "The controls at NovAtel were so lax," said NDP MLA Pamela Barrett,

NovAtel's troubled history

began when provincially owned Alberta Government Telephone and privately held Navia Corp. formed the new company as a joint venture directed at developing high-technology communications products. In 1980, Navia left the venture, selling its 50% share in NovAtel to AT&T for \$42.5 million. Late the following year, the provincial government decided to purchase AT&T and rename it Telus Corp. (it did that decision proved legal). Although a prospectus issued to potential investors in AT&T estimated NovAtel's profits for the second half of 1980 at \$16.6 million, in fact, the company expected to lose \$4 million in that period. The discrepancy became evident when a Greenwich, Connecticut, company, Western Reach Group, began examining NovAtel's books with a view to purchasing a 50-per-cent interest in the firm. The shortfall in revenues had not persuaded NovAtel to drop its bid for NovTel, it also put an end to the Telus' attempts to purchase its corporate parent.

Memorial documents that a NovAtel subsidiary, NovAtel Finance Co., had filed with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission in Washington provided equally damning disclosures. Those documents furnished details of how the Alberta firm had lost money to fledgling cellular phone systems in Nevada, California, Wyoming and New York. According to the documents, NovAtel Finance Co. had offered to guarantee start-up loans to more than 70 companies seeking to introduce cellular phone service to rural areas.

The money was to be used by buyout partners, construct compact base stations and integrate cellular circuits with existing services. In return, NovAtel officials had said, those companies manufacturing the partnerships were expected to provide electronic hardware from the firm. The U.S. companies were required to repay the loans from subscriber fees over a period of six years, and together, these expectations reflected an obligation that provided annual cellular telephone capacities at the time. "This was a nascent industry in 1980," said one Edmonton-based financial analyst familiar with NovAtel's history. "It was set to explode. It was the future."

Last week, the Alberta government manager responsible for NovAtel's fortunes defended the company's strategy. "All manufacturers need systems financing," Technology Minister Pradeep Stewart told Maclean's. In fact, earlier this year NovAtel claimed that it approach

had succeeded in securing orders for its equipment from 81 of 249 cellular phone systems in the United States. But NovAtel's loans were made on what critics say were normally generous terms. In one case, the company offered a North Carolina firm \$2.4 million to fund the construction of a cellular system and its operation for six years.

The U.S. company, Teks Partnership, was required to put up \$100,000 in cash. In 1988, later in the same year, the company's address was a post office box, NovAtel wrote. "We committed to lend the maximum amount based upon your estimation of the funds that will be required." At the same time, loans were approved with little scrutiny. Once approved by NovAtel Finance Co.'s local representatives at the U.S. of States, no borrower said, loans were merely "rubber-stamped" in Edmonton.

Crosses cannot that much of the money was misdirected. In one case, General Cellular Corp. of Fort Worth, Calif., and \$16.5 million of the \$18 million that it had borrowed from NovAtel Finance Co. for day-to-day expenses, instead of for equipment. One can official described NovAtel's fate as this partnership as having "no strings attached."

Meanwhile, many of the recipient companies are struggling financially, and the anticipated rate of delivery of NovAtel equipment has been cut back. In fact, the firm that received loans from NovAtel have now defaulted on their obligations to the Alberta government as much as \$6 million. "The government was the super buyer for a bunch of cellular companies in the United States," charged NovAtel Opposition Leader Ray Martin in the Alberta legislature. "What's happening is NovAtel doing lending money to nonprofits U.S. companies in a very aggressive business?"

Losing money, for one thing. Throughout its nine-year history, NovAtel never showed a profit despite losses mounted in the past that by the mid of 1989-1991 financial year, the company reported that it had lost \$184 million over the previous 18 months alone. At the same time, the company's claim of diversifying the Alberta economy was also being credibility. In early 1991, NovAtel slashed 223 jobs at its Lethbridge plant, reducing its total workforce to 1,100. In May 1991, another 387 NovAtel workers in Calgary lost their jobs.

With NovAtel's losses weighing down Telus Corp., the Alberta government will intent on preventing the telephone utility, bought the struggling cellular phone maker in December, 1990, for \$135 million. The decision left Alberta



Getty: *the lesson in a string of financial embarrassments*

in deep-pocket deficit for hundreds of millions of dollars in NovAtel's accumulated losses.

Finally, last May, Alberta's Telus became what was once to prove the most financial embarrassment. In a complex three-way deal, the province sold NovAtel's cellular switching technology to Toronto-based telecommunications giant Northern Telecom, Ltd. for \$35 million and transferred its cellular hand-phone manufacturing component to Telus Holding Ltd. of Calgary, a subsidiary of Hong Kong-listed pony tail maker TechTronic International Co. Ltd. for \$18.5 million. In the third leg of the transaction, NovAtel Finance Co.'s \$106 million in outstanding loans was transferred to powerfully armed North West Telus Co. for review and addressed on financially, the province had come into possession of North West in 1987, when the government was forced to buy it and another struggling financial institution, Heritage Savings and Trust Co.

The state of what remained of NovAtel has left the Alberta government and its taxpayers with little to show for their original investment. Northern Telecom and Telus, meanwhile, have said that they plan to continue producing the former company's cellular switches and handsets in Alberta. But apart from the ride to NovAtel's real estate holdings in Calgary and Lethbridge, the province retains the company's portfolio of loans as its only asset remaining from the venture. According to provincial officials, North West Telus expects eventually to recover \$16.6 million of the \$106 million that NovAtel Finance originally lent.

At the same time, the tally of losses that provincial taxpayers蒙受的损失 continues to rise. For one part, Stewart acknowledged that the final cost will be at least \$556 million. That will prompt the credit rating agency to downgrade its assessment of Alberta's status "stable" to "negative" last month. Declared the Standard & Poor's report: "Provincial finances deteriorated sharply in the fiscal year ended March 31, 1993. This resulted primarily from a \$1.5-billion shortfall in resource revenues and an extraordinary cost associated with disposals of NovAtel Communications Ltd."

Whether the eventual financial impact of NovAtel's collapse, its political cast is already becoming apparent in campaigning for a provincial by-election scheduled for July 21 in the riding of Calgary-Buffalo. Although Tory candidate Rod Lee downed that voters are very concerned about the NovAtel issue, his main rival, Liberal Gary Dickson,

caustically hit at the No. 19 riding's strong wings in the downtown constituency. "They should be embarrassed," Dickson said. "And NovAtel is a dead issue of major importance in the riding,"

Alberta Liberal Leader Deacon. "The government failed to measure how these assets were handled out."

A full accounting of the NovAtel fiasco may emerge for several weeks. As details of the company's troubles mounted last month, Gerry McIntyre, provincial auditor general, Donald Salterto conduct a review of its activities. His report is expected only this fall. For his part, Stewart told Maclean's, "I am absolutely confident that the bill will still not change. I remain angry and frustrated at the staggering amount. And I will always feel the audited process finds that any of that loss was due to my negligence." This may be cold comfort to Alberta's taxpayers. For them, the provincial government's entry into the wireless world of cellular communications has already proven to be a possibly wrong number.

JONATHAN BOWMAN in Calgary

MICHAEL J. RYAN



Frymire's iguana; Coopland (behind) an accidental graphic software hit

The color of money

Mitel's founder succeeds on a second try

THIS event was a flashback to the Michael Coopland of old. In a press conference at the Ottawa entrepreneur's initial promotion in the 1970s as the founder of the high-flying electronics firm and its later, albeit corporate creation, Corp Systems Corp., Coopland announced the acquisition of a fourth of computer art earlier this year. Lived by 91 cities in 30 states from coast-to-coast and 20 other countries, estimated 3,374 clients counted with Coopland's state-of-the-art graphics software. Sharing a black-and-champagne reception in the Grand Hall of Ottawa's National Gallery on May 15, more than 50 judges reviewed 500 entries in nine categories—and crowned Vancouver graphic designer Bill Frymire as the overall winner of a one-kilogram gold bar worth \$16,000, and other prizes, for an elaborate depiction of his pet iguana. In characteristically flamboyant fashion, Coopland ended the day with a fireworks display over Parliament Hill. Declared Coopland, 49, who founded Coop with \$7 million of the proceeds he earned from selling his Mitel stake in 1985: "I could have played squash and tennis for eight hours a day, but I can't think of having any more fun than this."

In fact, Coopland has continued a flair for enjoying life with a forward-looking business style throughout his career. During the 1970s, he practiced for high-end personal computers, including a personal helicopter pad at his \$2-million summer home in the south hills of the

Ottawa River, down wide alluvion, some of it hostile, to Mitel Bar. But that company, which makes phone-switching equipment, ran into difficulty in the early 1980s when its sales had doubled to \$200 million. In 1985, Coopland sold his interest in Mitel and began looking for new ventures. Seven years later, he arrived—courtesy of Coop's investors—back in Ottawa. Coopland then spent more than \$1 million on additions, including the helicopter pad, a swimming pool and a detached garage with a Mitel logo on the door frame.

Now, his only residence is a less ostentatious three-story house in Coop's Rockcliffe Park district. Last year, he divorced Davielle, his wife of 23 years. Just last month, he married Marilyn Therrien, 33. His two daughters from his first marriage, Paris, 23, and Charlotte, 20, are both studying medicine at the University of Toronto. And Coopland still plays tennis at least four times a week.

His primary attraction, however, is devoted to Corp. Coopland directs a staff of 325 from a minuscule windowed office, which employees call "the hovel," on the fourth floor of a suburban Ottawa office building, where he claims that he spends "80 per cent" of his working hours. But in his estimation of computer art democratized, even if Coopland's corporate style is more cautious than it ever was, he can still get on a good show.

ZORN DALY ■ Ottawa



switches. Coopland allows users of personal computers to create and manipulate detailed images that formerly could be created only on much more powerful computers designed for engineers and other specialists. The programs appeal to a broad range of users, from those engaged in desktop publishing to large corporations. Since introducing the first version of Coolorise in January 1989, Coop has sold more than 300,000 copies of it worldwide.

That success, however, did not emerge immediately for the unassisted former whizkid of the cluster of high-tech companies that grew up in the Ottawa area in the 1970s and 1980s. After Coopland sold his Mitel interest, most of his fortune and his net worth faded.

But extracting himself from other companies allowed Coopland to channel his energy into Coop. He formed the company in 1985 with a handful of engineers. That entrepreneur who grappled to find his way at first originally, Coop planned to specialize in technology that would offer different types of computers. Graphics software was initially only a sideline. "When we started, we thought we would sell only 2,000 software packages," said Coop's chief engineer, Paulina Revert. "Now, we sometimes sell 2,000 copies a day." Coopland's private life also appears to be on a steeper course. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the English-born engineer attracted as much attention for his activities outside the office as for his business dealings. At the height of Mitel's success, Coopland owned three tennis clubs, a townhouse and a restaurant, in addition to a 207-square-metre estate 20 km west of the city that he bought from entrepreneur Robert Casper in 1981. Coopland then spent more than \$1 million on additions, including the helicopter pad, a swimming pool and a detached garage with a Mitel logo on the door frame.

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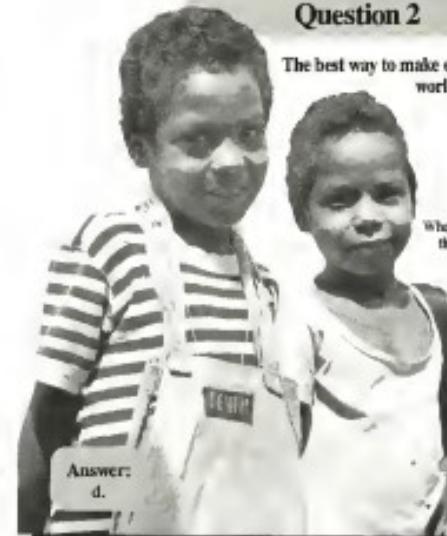
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The world's ranking political saint

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

I only met him once, but I've never forgotten the few private moments I had with Vaclav Havel, who was defeated in his re-election bid as Czechoslovak president on July 3. It was in Ottawa in 1990, when he was on his way to Washington to address a joint session of Congress (he chose standing ovations), and he didn't have much time.

But he was glad to meet someone who could speak Czech with him, so he temporarily relieved himself from having to rely on his interpreter. He was a tiny Groucho—wasn't he being taunted under his left shoulder who was so good at his act? And as soon as we both understood him in English, he would whisper to Havel in Czech, because he wanted me to reply almost simultaneously.)

From our brief exchange, I especially recall two fragments. "He learned never to be surprised by anything," he shrugged when I asked how it felt for a playwright to suddenly find himself a president. To my question about the secret of politics, he shot back: "Write your own speeches and express hard truths in a polite way." Then he paused, and philosophically added: "Of course... everyone is reasonable."

New that he is being replaced, I'm not surprised.

Havel was one of those rare conscience-driven politicians we can't afford to lose. A good man in a wicked time, he kept himself removed from the darker tricks of the craft, never imposed by the laws of force or money of influence. Havel believed that character was destiny and that it was therefore supremely important to live a highly principled life even at the risk of being imprisoned for your beliefs.

He was history in a stage play, with characters performing in front of ever-changing backdrops. A scrawny man of age 55 with paper-thin, creased skin and an orange mustache, bone-fried pink ("Vaclav looks as if you're going to know through his skin"), he reviled in his

now he was being seen as in the country's first democratic president since 1938.

Being a playwright, one of the first things Havel did was to make sure everyone wore the appropriate costume. He asked his friend Thaddeus Psotka (who won an Academy Award for his cartoons in the movie *Assassins*) to design properly perturbous royal blue parade uniforms—complete with top hats—for the ten guards. (When they were delivered, Havel promptly turned them down, saying, "Let's go someplace else") you may be the comic literature writing (he quipped) Havel's is a lesson that Havel sometimes resorted to getting around the place on a scooter, but after the first few weeks in office he agreed not to work to work in jeans and moon boots wearing a polka-dot bow tie (his first press secretary was Michael Zantovsky, whose code name to *Time* was as the author of the definitive—and sole—study in Czech of the films of Woody Allen).

While in office, Havel granted amnesty to 30,000 prisoners (three-quarters of Czechoslovakia's jail population), presided over the peaceful withdrawal of Soviet troops, defied public opinion by supporting the reunification of Germany and brought some badly-needed enlightenment to a country that had not known democracy for nearly half a century.

But his main contribution was his evocative speeches, written to himself on a annual-type writer. Probably the best was his 1980 New Year's message: "For Hungarians on thursday, you heard the same thing in different variations from my predecessors: how our country flourishes, how many runs of steel we produced, how happy we are, how we treat our government and what bright perspectives were awaiting us in front of us. I assumed you did not remember, but to this effect was that I, too, had to pay off country stupidities, including Trotter brooks of industry, and other ridiculous goods the use of which is beyond my comprehension. This could be proof of the educational level of its citizens speaks so little on education that it reads today as illiteracy in the world."

He went on like that for about ten minutes, then came to his next point: "Let us teach both ourselves and others that policies don't have to be the art of the possible," Havel said, "especially if this means the art of speculating, intrigues, secret agreements and pragmatic concessions. But that it can also be the art of the impossible, that is the art of making both ourselves and the world better."

In last month's elections, every one of Havel's candidates in the Civic Movement, was defeated. In Slovakia, the campaign was won by Vladimír Mečiar, a separatist who wants Slovakia to be independent. That meant forcing the strongly federated Havel out of office, a move accomplished with the two new seats again against his compatriot by the Slovak section of the federal assembly.

"Me," Havel once wrote from jail, "is as fact naked—once like Christ on the cross—in a grid of parades. His balance between the torment of fear knowing his mission and the joy of carrying it out."

Vaclav lived both, and we're all the better for it.

PEOPLE

THE BUSINESS OF WRITING

Manhattan-based actress Tamsin Greig says that she hates to write—and that the Big Apple is a weary mess. In 1986, she leaped her fear and launched to create *Streets of New York*, a best-selling collection of short stories that established her as the queen of big-city literature chic. Now, the quirky 34-year-old writer is set to release *The Alice Gross-Dresser Support Group*, which will be accompanied by a 30-page video plot summary. But despite such high-profile self-publicity, a Greigish trademark, she told *Maclean's*, "I can't get around people anymore without feeling completely naked."

Flesh and blood

A pop duo Wilson Phillips say they are trying to emulate the success of their fathers, the Beach Boys Brian Wilson and John Phillips of the Mamas and the Papas. But the younger generation's family ties have often been troubled. On the group's new album, *Shadows and Light*, Wind, 22, and sister Chynna, 24, Wilson and Wilson are sharing the place: the three brothers talk to them for the first time in two years. "That would start mending the relationships we've had with each other," says Wendy Wilson. "We've stood up our feelings for so long."

Wilson Phillips, *separating relationships*

Return of the native

Broadcaster Keith Morrison says that in Canada, "it's still possible to be a journalist." And that as one reason, he added, for his return to co-host *CTV's* current affairs show *Canada AM* starting on Sept. 1. The 44-year-old San

Kitchener native, who signed on with *CTV* last year, left *CBC's* *The Journal* in 1986 to become a news anchor with *MTS-TV* in Los Angeles. But he says that as the *CTV* business is a coast and shadow money trough, a long plastic hallway where thieves and pimps can run free, and good men die like dogs. "Asked if he will put it up in his Toronto office, Morrison replied: "Oh, probably."

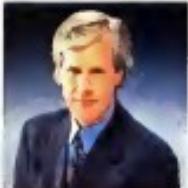


Proceeding with caution

A crew Tensor Goralski says that working with such screen veterans as Angela Lansbury, Diana Rigg, Duerst Shand and Quebec's Lotte Blaisone was "a great study." And on the set of *Mrs. April* (a 1988 Canadian co-production, which ran on CTV in December), the Winnipeg native received some further advice from Shand: "He told me she had humility and respect," said Goralski, 32, who plays a doctor of that model in the movie, "and how important they are in this business." Now, Goralski describes herself as "extremely ambitious," adding: "The cowboy" is a new development.

A SHARE OF THE FLAME

Leading up to the Summer Games beginning in Barcelona on July 25, four Canadians will take part as the first Olympic torch relay to include participants from around the world. But the Canadian contingent is unique in one regard: its members are all medalists from the *Special Olympics*, a sports program involving more than 15,000 mentally handicapped athletes from across the country. As part of the International Olympic Torchbearers Program, sponsored by Coca-Cola Ltd., Manitoba snowshoer Kermie-Louise Lamb, 26, and swimmer John West, also 26, of Ontario, along with track-and-field athletes Tracy Moore, 25, of Fortune, Nfld., and Jennifer Roche, 23, of Joliette, Que., will carry the symbolic flame through Alcañiz, Spain, on July 19.





Franklin: barriers discourage women from entering the senior ranks of science

EDUCATION

Brain-drained

A top academic leaves for tenure at Harvard

Melissa Franklin's colleagues in the academic world of particle physics say that her aggressiveness sometimes upsets other people. In 1988, when she was trying to secure government funding for a science project, Franklin met William Wagnleitner, the federal minister of state for science and technology, at a reception at the University of Guelph, in Ontario. She told him firmly that her work deserved to be highly funded. According to Franklin, Wagnleitner responded by telling her that "you're a very nice girl, but you don't have the temperament here." Franklin said that she planned to accept an offer to become the first tenured female professor in the physics department at Harvard University, in Cambridge, Mass.

Franklin says that her difficulties with U of T began in 1988 when she applied for a position as professor of physics. As a graduate of the university and of Stanford University in California, where she earned a PhD, Franklin said that at one point she was told she was the leading candidate for the job. But she added: "For about technical reasons, the search was reopened and they chose a man for the job." Franklin subsequently joined the physics faculty at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, as an assistant professor. In 1990 she applied again to U of T for a job as assistant professor, but she says that she was offered a senior position instead as a research fellow. Princeton called the offer of a research fellowship for Franklin a "real treat," added Franklin. "She is a superb physicist."

John Foley, a U of T academic vice-president, said, "Melissa's job that she made special funds available to ensure that Franklin was offered a job. Foley and that Franklin had been offered a job. Foley, a U of T deans of arts and sciences of the time, both told to her about

the appearance of being Franklin. At the same time, added Foley, she was a wife that "there were serious concerns about her in the physics department."

Franklin was subsequently offered an assistant professorship in the department and, in 1992, the offer was upgraded to an associate professorship. Franklin says that after she had tentatively accepted the job, a male member of the physics department said to her, "OK, you've got the job, but that you're an associate. I know it and you know it." By then, Franklin was a junior fellow at Harvard engaged in a major experiment based in Illinois aimed at learning about elusive subatomic particles called quarks. She discovered that if she took the U of T job, she would be unable to get enough funding in Canada to continue her research at the Fermilab collider, a detector that is used to examine subatomic particles in Chicago. "I reached a point where I said, 'that is what I needed to come to Canada.'

Offensive? Dr. Foley noted that the university had offered Franklin a job which she turned down. "She was hired and chose not to stay," said Prof. Bertrand Rober, who took over as physics department chairman in July. Added Prof. Michael Walker, the U of T physicist who was chairman of the department at the time that Franklin was offered a job: "There was no action on the selection committee, and in fact, Melissa Franklin stayed at the top of the list."

Still, female physicists say that barriers throughout the North American educational system discourage women from entering the senior ranks of physics and some other sciences. There are currently no women in the U of T physics faculty, which has about 60 members. McRae has two women in an 18-member physics faculty. The University of British Columbia in Vancouver has one woman in its 58-member faculty. New physics departments at many Canadian universities are trying to alter the gender imbalance. McRae, for example, has chosen for graduate studies in the U of T experiment to recruit women at Segovia, the entrance of female students and their third- and fourth-year students would act as "mentors" to first- and second-year women similar to her in the department.

Franklin said that she wanted to stay in Canada because, "I really love the culture and the cities." Franklin left part of Canada "Now, she says that she will have to decide whether to become a U.S. citizen. Meanwhile, Prof. Howard Georgi, chairman of Harvard's physics department, described Franklin as "an unusually talented physicist." Georgi pressed Franklin's belief of being outspoken. "She is not afraid to tell her colleagues when she thinks they are wrong. She is a kind of conscience. She wants to make sure everything is done right," added Georgi, singling out the very qualities that Franklin claims caused her a series of painful rebuffs from her alma mater.

MARY NICHOLS

MEDIA WATCH



Blasphemy, or abused privilege?

BY GEORGE BAIN

The Canadian Press's first definition of blasphemy is "impious utterance or action concerning God or sacred things." The last, and broadest, is "irreverent behavior toward anything sacred, precious, etc." A June 23 story by Jim Ward of The Canadian Press reported that author Brian McLaren, saying that a Senate subcommittee's hearings on blasphemy should hear testimony from The Value of the House were "blasphemous." Applied to an inquiry that can't own work, it reflects an extraordinary self-regard, even a television producer.

McKenna directed the Senate and co-chaired it with Senator Irene P. Robert, a conservative with little clout. The June 23 article, which dealt with a speech by Senator Ward, did not succeed in its purpose, disaster: the editor of Star-Kong, the night bomber advocate against Germans and the world's Normandy campaign, Brian McLaren also complained to the Senate that he had been put "through the ringer" as critical by "I value irreverence for starting fire; to burn from Satan Johnson."

Even now, poor McLaren's article is out there. Senator Jack Marshall, chairing of the subcommittee, intends to reissue hearings in the fall. Still, the McKenna's are without support. The senator no sooner said that he was going to look into complaints of bias and slurs than the usual Toronto-based cabal started to denounce him and his subcommittee for their tendency that was, um, "irreverent." But who was telling what, what is this?—the senators who had complaints in addition to a pair of TV entrepreneurs applying 7000 pencils to 50-year-old counterculture Star plus Godfrey, in the Toronto Globe and Mail, wrote that the subcommittee's investigations constituted reason enough on its own to warrant doing away with the Senate. It makes a strong argument for freedom of expression to say that providing an avenue of redress to people offended by a questionable rendering of history warrants public action.

Brian McKenna, in an interview with Jim Ward, co-author of the CP's p.m. news advisory in Halifax, stated on two things: the deadaccuracy of absolutely everything in the series and the virtuous effrontery subcommittee's having no business meddling in broadcasting. According to McKenna, the professional historians had not done a good job of getting the truth of the war to the public. They were too few and too timid and, in any event, they numbered relatively few people with their books. He said further: "There's on the other hand, reached two million at a crack."

That makes for word-terrible terribly legitimate. Think of it because he makes films for a living and therefore has privileged access to the largest national television network (CBC), the most film-making agency (National Film Board) and the national agency that helps fund filmmaking (Cinéma Canada), this man is able to reach a large audience of Canadians to propagate a version of history. OK, but then, because his mission comes out under the umbrella of national promotion, which gives it a weight it would not otherwise have, it is accepted into the schools more than 400 in fact, by the "authorities" (i.e., as a teaching aid).

Still OK. Thus, what we see is a rather remarkable set of people who are things differently violent another end others. Despite undergoing a majority of their different viewpoint, which is denounced as intimidation, censoring, telling people what to think and, what was that other word? Blasphemy. His is because all that is to question the nature of television & historiography.

The second item in the series, Death by Moebius on the Bay Bomber Committee, which incorporated the Canadian & Group, was the show most replicated show. The question is not so much whether the facts were wrong as whether the facts were selected to fit basic premises that were biased. For example, if you had to establish Air Marshal Alan Herries, commander-in-chief of Bomber Command, as villain, the architect of the area-bombing concept. That needed lots to leg lightly over the fact that the decision to area-bombing had been taken before he assumed command in 1942. Also, notwithstanding that there were already many Canadian service members in RAF squadrons and that the separate Canadian bomber group was put about to begin operations, Davies was not yet to have been convinced about the area-bombing policy.

It may or may not have been, but if Davies did not know that Canadians in RAF squadrons and as own members group operated under such a policy, it would need to have been extrapolated. Any newspaper reader could have known that. The first raid on London, targeting day after day, that Cologne, Berlin, Dresden, etc., was bombed. Berlin was bombed—and, hopefully, that could be seen reflected in the sky from however many planes. Obviously, bombing cities was not "moral." But it was not indiscriminate bombing in that the planes aimed all but were purpose, and they were scarcely deliberate.

Bombing did not win the war. It did not even score the last offensive. Herries thought it could. But it may have kept it from being lost. Herries, in a 1977 speech, said the bomb damage to industry cost the Germans billions on the Russian front 30,000 of their larger-caliber guns and 6,800 planes. Meaning the anti-aircraft defenses lost 900,000 German men of whom who otherwise would have been available for frontline duty. Herries was scarcely an unbiased commentator. But in these remarks, he was quoting Albert Speer, who was Hitler's minister of armaments, and Field Marshal Erhard Milch, who was commander of German anti-aircraft forces.



Lowy: "Keeping alive the cultural infrastructure of this country is not something that governments see as important."

THE ARTS

CULTURE IN CRISIS

The cutbacks seemed draconian even in Ontario's recession-battered economy. Late last month, using a second year of reduced funding from Ontario's new government, Michael Kirby, president of the board of trustees of the Art Gallery of Ontario, made a sobering announcement. Going forward, wage and contract renewals, as well as a dipository by provincial Culture Minister Karen Hales, will be held the low-prevalent funding. Kirby said that on July 4, the AGO would close its doors for seven months and lay off 244 of its 445 workers. Adds Kirby: "We simply cannot afford to stay open." That decision heightened concern about hard times for artists and arts organizations across the country. Said Brad Kelly, artistic director of the Ottawa-based Canadian

FACING TOUGH TIMES, ARTISTS AND ARTS GROUPS ARE WORKING HARD TO KEEP CULTURE ALIVE

Conference of the Arts: "The AGO is the canary in the mine shaft."

Penned by a committee that has apped ticket sales and program donations, as well as by the CRT and corporate firms in-house entertainment options, Canada's nonprofits museums, galleries, theatres and opera and dance companies are struggling to stay afloat. And as they try to keep conserves and doors open in their diverse facilities, the nation's cultural organizations are also beginning to feel the cumulative effect of years of stagnation levels of government funding.

The result, according to artists and arts organizers who spoke to Maclean's in a wide-ranging series of interviews, is a sense of increasing despair. Said Brian Dohse, general director of the Canadian Opera Company,

which had a deficit for the 1990-1991 season of \$550,000: "The light at the end of the tunnel has been temporarily switched off, and I'm not sure when it is going to be switched on again." Meanwhile, many arts administrators warn that Canadian culture is disappearing. By understanding the current generation's young, music, movies, art, and Ottawa politician Dennis Lowry, "you take away their ability to dream... when we in society begin to lose bits and pieces of ourselves."

But there are also more optimistic developments. Late in March in Quebec, the cultural affairs ministry unveiled a \$57-million infusion of funds over the next three years for the arts (page 50). And throughout the country, many organizations are showing a steady determination to make the best of a bad situation. In Winnipeg, the Manitoba Theatre Centre just concluded a record-breaking season, aggressively marketing its 30 productions and increasing ticket-based revenue by 17.5 per cent over the previous year. As well, the company undertook a number of specialty fundraising events, including a luxury-car raffle that netted \$113,000. The overall result: the disappearance of the centre's \$421,000 debt.

At the Ottawa Shakespeare Festival, which is launching its first season, crew members and volunteers have been travelling door-to-door selling tickets from the play, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, while their plan to perform the same season. A way to raise money is to contact subscribers, the organization's dozen or so \$10 exchange for having these same written beside a line of the play, a copy of which is posted outside the tent on Ottawa's Victoria Island, where the company intends to perform.

WAGING WAR ON A TAXING PROBLEM

On April 4 marks the 45th anniversary of the first printing of the complete English Bible, and Canadian booksellers, publishers, writers, teachers and librarians are observing the occasion in unusual ways. They plan to send 100,000 hand-penned postcards to all 395 members of Parliament and their key staffers inspiring them to encourage reading materials from the seven-per-cent Goods and Services Tax. The campaign will be part of a massive offensive by the Don't Tax Reading Coalition, a group of organizations that supports the tax. As well, the Toronto-based coalition plans to distribute 2.1 million books and publish newspaper advertisements, beginning in July, to alert the public to what co-ordinator David Shull calls the

"devastating effects of the GST on books and other reading material in this country."

Opponents of the tax claim it has caused sales losses for all publishers; in 1991, national book sales fell by 10 per cent, magazine subscriptions declined by 15 to 17 per cent and newspaper circulation dropped by five per cent. As well, coalition members outline a host of related problems that they say have been caused by the tax. For one thing, municipalities sometimes reduce public art subsidies intended for libraries to other uses. Canadian Library Association executive director Karen Adkin acknowledged that problem, adding: "For all libraries, the energy and expense required to administer the GST is very frustrating."

Adkin stated that the economic consequences have been "dire," noting that books, magazines and newspapers have seen falls of federal tax under Conservative. And coalition members point out that the federal government collected \$306 million from the

most to defense and to \$3.2-billion allocation to employment and immigration. Between 1994 and 1995, the last year for which figures are available, federal spending on the arts increased by only four per cent, in comparison with a 27-per-cent increase in total government spending. In the United States, by comparison, arts funding increased by more per cent during the same period, compared with a 20-per-cent jump in both defense and total government spending.

Residents have been left sharp-eyed at the Canada Council, the nation's main source of arts grants, which this year received \$106 million from the department of commerce taxes. The council awards roughly 350 million in grants to about 1,200 artists and 2,000 arts organizations annually. Parliament has not increased the council's budget allocation since 1986. As a result, with inflation taken into account, its funding has actually fallen by about 20 per cent in ten years—and by about 30 per cent since 1981. Over the course of the 1980s, meanwhile, application to the council have risen by 32 per cent. The Canadian Opera Company's Shirley said that the Canada Council had "strayed" from its organization and other similar groups long before the recession began. He added: "The recession is now being used as an excuse, a justification for doing what the government probably would have done anyway."

At the Canada Council itself, senior officials have become increasingly strident in voicing their claims of inadequate funding. In May, council chairman Alan Gauthier told the Commons standing committee on communications and culture that he had "never seen in Canada a level of demand for the fine arts" since 1989, after the first time ever—before allocations to similar bodies in countries including Britain and Australia, Gauthier added. "Canadian arts organizations are being forced to slice into the

fix-increasing national budget, an amount that they claim significantly exceed what is spent on publishing subsidies and adult literacy programs combined.

The outcome of postcards reveals a massive campaign that the coalition undertook in 1993 to protest the imposition of the tax. Said Jacqueline Hudson, executive director of the Canadian Book Publishers' Council: "The government received more mail than that sent on the abortion issue and no one can contest that." That campaign did not succeed, but Hudson says that a general election, due in 1993, may convince the Tories to make concessions. Adds Shull: "We hope that the government is sensitive enough to public feeling about cultural issues that it will change its mind. But we really don't care what the outcome is—we just want the tax off."

DIANE TURKIN

home." At its quarterly meeting in late June, Gedda's board of directors issued an unusually urgent call for increased government funding, warning in an official statement that "we are now living what has been created through 30 years of sustained achievement in the arts in Canada."

Last week, department spokesman Gérard Desroches told Maclean's that Communications Minister Perrin Beatty "is aware that there is a problem with funding in the performing and the visual arts." Desroches added that Beatty will soon make an official announcement on the subject. But even within the arts community itself, some observers say that continued restraint may have some beneficial effects. Ted Andrew Terra, executive director of Halifax-based Visual Arts Nova Scotia, an umbrella group with 250 members, says "arts organizations had been getting a little spoiled at that they knew that they would run up deficits and that governments would cover it and forgive them." He added, "They know that won't happen anymore, and as they are laying things in better order."

Even among those demanding increased government art, there is a growing recognition of the importance of convincing individuals to support the arts. According to the Toronto-based Council for Business and the Arts, which represents about 100 business organizations actively involved in financing culture, audiences dropped by seven per cent in the 1989-1990 season—reflecting a decade of saturated growth. Said Betty Webster, executive director of the Toronto-based Association of Canadian Orchestras: "You have so many people that see two workers in the family, two breadwinners, and they simply don't have the time to go out as they used to."

At the Manitoba Theatre Centre, enterprisingly, despite the increase in individual ticket sales this season, general manager Suzanne Blayre says that too many people are deciding to subscribe to a full season. "But because we are having less time with their kids, and they are working harder to keep them in line," she adds.

That tendency is taking a particularly heavy toll at many performing-arts organizations, including some of the country's most established symphony orchestras and dance companies. The 70-year-old Toronto Symphony,

reporting under a \$3.7-million deficit, announced an early July that it is cutting its season to 43 weeks from 56 over three years, before adding one week in each of the following two years. As well, orchestra members agreed to an across-the-board pay cut of 15 per cent. Meanwhile, the Toronto-based National Ballet of Canada's deficit has risen to \$1.7 million. Last year, the company declined to renew the contracts of five of 66 dancers and suspended three more

to encourage more popular rather than innovative programs. According to Valerie Walker, associate director of the National Ballet, her company's tough financial situation has "forced an extreme prudence" as the types of shows it is choosing to produce. "We feel we could really fly and take off and show the world what we can do, but the financial situation makes that difficult," said Walker. "It would be nice to make strides artistically instead of having to consolidate." For her part, Donna East, director of Rising Tide Theatre in St. John's, which produces original plays by Newfoundland playwrights and operates on an annual budget of about \$300,000, notes a similar conservatism. And that? "You find yourself in a position where you wonder whether or not you should do a show, because if it's controversial, it may not sell."

But many arts organizations are beginning increasing amounts of during-a-break ads for the 1990s. For one thing, some are trying to reverse the cited atmosphere of the arts. According to the Calgary Philharmonic's McCurdy, challenging that image has been central to his organization's marketing in recent years. "We have been aggressive about getting the image out about casual dress at concerts—just come and leave, jeans or tuxedo," said McCurdy. At the Vancouver Opera Association, meanwhile, a campaign to attract younger audiences helped bring in more than 2,000 new subscribers last season. And marketing and communications director Tracy Baldwin says "Research showed us that we had to target a younger market in order to replenish our audience." The results have been impressive: Although in 1989, 58 per cent of the company's subscribers were people over the age of 50, by the end of the 1990-1991 season, only 38 per cent of new subscribers were in that age bracket.

In the theatre community, many companies are trying to identify specialized cultural needs. Says Jim Stock, executive director of the 340-member Toronto Theatre Alliance: "Theatres are starting to realize that you have to offer work that is relevant to the lives of real people, and that if you can do that, you will draw people."

Stock noted that theatres catering to ethnic communities, women and other specialized niche markets are vigorously marketing their wares. She added: "They are working to convince audiences that theatre is a part of their community." Ted Timothy Jones, general manager of



Les Grands Ballets Canadiens defying economic gravity

Toronto's Bad Boys in Bad Times Theatre: "In arts where costs are generally split, conservative and adventurous, we're putting out an image that purposely pushes in the opposite direction." Jones, whose theatre's dual priority is with homelessness and lesbian issues and which since 1990 has expanded its season to year-round from 20 weeks, added, "We may serve a minority, but it is a loyal minority when it comes to convincing what we practice."

Stock said that many theatre companies that for years have survived by offering low-budget, low-keyed productions have suffered losses from the recession and spending reductions. "Such companies have an extreme sense of flexibility," he noted. "They often don't even have an official office, let alone a permanent performing space, so they don't have debts or obligations when the recession arrives."

Besides working to bring people into their theatres, music halls and galleries, many arts organizations are also working harder to convince the private sector to enhance the cause of culture. In 1991, Canadian corporations donated approximately \$70 million to the arts—about 10 per cent of total arts budgets. According to Blair Macmillan, chairman of the Council for Business and the Arts, that figure represents a slight decline from corporate giving over past years—but a dip that he attributes to recessionary pressures.

Still, Macmillan emphasized that despite the downward trend, corporations are continuing to give a large proportion of their charitable dollar to the arts as in the past. "With so many causes being up, some corporations have definitely asked if they should reassess their priorities," said Macmillan. "The conclusion that they have come to is that the arts are as important as ever."

Indeed, according to Nina Wright, president of Toronto-based Arts and Communications Council, many companies are more determined than ever to get the most out of their charitable giving, emphasizing what she calls "strategic philanthropy." Self-described "marketing nerds," Wright organized arts and press conferences. We'll use the example of Toyota Canada Inc.'s recent sponsorship of the Canadian portion of a North American tour of the St. Petersburg-based Kirov Ballet. The carmaker used its sponsorship to draw the public's attention to its luxury Lexus automobile. Said Wright, "What you had there was a company whose ethos is one of first-class style and service and a belief that it is the absolute epitome of perfection. When dollars for advertising and promotion were both tighter than ever, that kind of quad-pride is in the name of the game."

For similar reasons, despite its \$1-million debt, the Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra has scheduled a two-week tour in November of six North American cities—including stops at New York City's Carnegie Hall and Washington's Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. A consortium of corporations and pipeline companies—including Nova Corp. and TransCanada PipeLines Ltd.—paid the \$1-million cost of the trip as part of its official celebration marking

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the arrival of Alberta natural gas into northeastern U.S. markets.

Although some analysts stress the importance of preserving their artistic independence in such transactions, for many they are the only way to remain professional, creative organizations. At the Art Gallery of Alberta, for instance, director Petrucci has been forging new links with community groups, the private sector and with government. In June, he signed a deal from the Brevoort, Ont.-based Snider Group, an aggregate and construction company that had just gone public on the Toronto Stock Exchange, in return for allowing the company to stage an evening at the gallery featuring stockholders. And Petrucci said that it is also working to create better ties with various levels of government by offering free advice on arts projects that include an artistic component. "It's a matter of developing relationships that will make a stable environment," said Petrucci. "But there's also a rightness to it. We have to do more than just unlock our doors and hope people come in—there's not what a public organization should be about."

Still, many express concern that prosperity alone may not save Canadian culture. Declared Janet Iwasa, co-founder of the Ottawa Shakespeare Festival: "If we lose some of these institutions now, there is an irreparable loss of infrastructure that will have to be rebuilt when times get better." She added, "We're going to be very poor if we run out of this innovation and syncretism; theatre companies and dance groups have folded."



Alberta Theatre Projects' edition of *independent funding*

"based or an arm board." Former now federal secretary Gerald Caplan was even more blunt. "The reality of the 1990s," he said, "is that governments are going to be tight-fisted and fiscally aware in their support of the arts—and they are never going to be generous again."

Many observers say that voters are increasingly receptive to those subtleties. "Culture just isn't a part of the upbringing of many people in North America," said AGO board member Alan Schwartz. "So whether governments have money or not, there is no great sense of political urgency to keep the arts alive." Declared Huile Lau, who assumed her post as the new director of the Canada Council on July 1: "We have to convince society as a whole of the importance of the arts. Only then can we sustain the larger implications while knowing that we keep the arts open to the younger generation of citizens."

One group that is working particularly hard to make that happen is the Vancouver Opera. Along with its various successful drives to attract young audiences, the company runs a program that last year drew 60,000 public-school children to see special daytime performances. Convinced with trying times, many arts organizations are clearly determined to face the music—unless their best to keep culture in Canada alive.

VICTOR DUVIVIER with **ADRIENNE WILSON** as **Fioravante**, **JOHN HORNBY** as **Calgary**, **PAMELA RISING** in **Toronto**, **LUCIE JETTE** as **Ghislain** and **JOHN DEPONT** in **Montreal**

SHELTER FROM THE STORM

As the winds of recession rip through the fabric of arts organizations across the country, in one province there is some shelter from the storm. Quebec society tends to view culture as a luxury, not a priority. And although the arts in that province are in the throes of recession, the arts are not the only signs of economic malaise. Manufacturing, the vital sign of any modern industrial society, has suffered a major blow. Quebec's new culture policy seems designed to reinforce this: It makes any mention of expanding powers. And like the Canada Council, the new Quebec Arts Council will be an arm's-length funding agency controlled by panels made up of artists. Ken Guyard, associate director of Les Grands Ballets Canadiens, said that the policy is "flexible—but let me tell you, we're not talking wet-and-we-attitude. They don't know how the money will translate as actual funding."

Meanwhile, Montreal's museum-building boom appears to defy economic gravity. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts has built a new

Señor Keith Kelly, national director of the Canadian Conference of the Arts. "Quebec has listened to the cultural community and responded in a fairly generous and responsible way."

But as culture is in politics, Quebec's climate needs to change. The province's culture minister, Kelly added, "has to be removed from the optic of the traditional dominions." For several years, Quebec has been trying to take over all cultural powers from Ottawa, a process that raised suspicion of concern over Quebec's autonomy. "Like an intravenous drip, some fix necessarily expected into the arts just keeps infiltrating—without acknowledging that," says Robert Spektor, director general of the Montreal Symphony, which the province has been trying to buy out. But he added: "We don't have too many cost cuts with which to do cuts. The conductor can't represent, and that puts artistic integrity at jeopardy." In Quebec, culture clearly has special significance, but who pays the piper still calls the tune.

ERIN D. JOHNSON with **ANN MELAGUELIN** in **Montreal**

\$75-million wing subtitled by federal and provincial sources, and Quebec spent \$32 million on the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Contemporary Art to a private foundation located on an isolated portion of the city on St. Lawrence River. "The only thing that stopped us from getting the optic of the traditional dominions," he says, "was that we've been trying to take over all cultural powers from Ottawa, a process that raised suspicion of concern over Quebec's autonomy."

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ERIN D. JOHNSON with **ANN MELAGUELIN** in **Montreal**

Wright's first album, *Wings of a Nightingale*, was released in 1997.

MUSIC

The queen of country

A smoky-voiced star sings from the heart

In a career—and life—that has traced a series of peaks and valleys, one of Michelle Wright's greatest triumphs was winning the Canadian Country Music Association award for female vocalist of the year in 1998. The day after the ceremony, she was busy cleaning her Toronto apartment when a deliveryman brought flowers and a message of

sold 45,000 copies at Cassettes and 175,000 in the United States since its release on May 11. Within less than two months of its singles placed for release, *New & Then* is, according to industry insiders, nearly certain to sell over twice as many copies by the fall. And the video for "Take It Like a Man," which showcases Wright's dark good looks, was the most popular selection for week among viewers of both the *Smoothie Network* and *Country Music Television*. The two prime-time CT networks each won a 25-city tour, and with a performed audience of more than 60,000, *Product* David Rose, publisher of *Smoothie's Music Box Magazine*, "feels like a lucky colleague" on Michelle's next month.

Wright, who moved to Nashville last September, acknowledges that such a description also applied to her since childhood. Born in Barbados in her career, she was renowned within the music industry as much for her self-shown talents as for her distinctive smoky alto voice. She says that the origins of her parents' separation when she was a child and, later, a "dysfunctional" relationship with someone who made her feel worthless and who was not worth listening to "led to a drinking problem." Wright ended the relationship, and began drinking on Oct. 15, 1997. One month later she settled on a new life-style: *Take It Like a Man*, her new single, became her best-known hit.

Now, she says, her bright blues are captures and an unquenchable addiction to image that results in *Kate and Marc* of her other three albums. At the time she recently bought in a Nashville suburb, Wright spends much of her time arranging and doing her own renovations. *Shef* her manager, Diana Fournier, "Michelle is very comfortable now with who and what she is."

That sense of ease is reflected in the care and attention Wright gives to her fans. At a recent country festival in Ottawa, Wright signed autographs and chatted with audience members until the moment she was called onstage. Then, after her performance, she

spent more than two hours meeting many of the 6,000 people in attendance.

Wright's choice pool and trumpet present are reflected in some of the contradictions in her image. Her smoky-voiced manner and style of dress—the frequently perfumed in a forest, long black, low-cut outfit—have led some to wonder if rock singer that the more restrained image attached to women country vocalists. But her songs, which she does not actually write, are carefully chosen to express values and emotions that are important to her. Several of the numbers on her newest album celebrate motherhood. And *Our Time Around*, which will be the next single from the album, describes a woman's transformation from someone who "never wanted love but only wanted lovers" into a person who is thinking "both boys and men are negotiate."

Although the lyrics are not here, Wright says that the sentiments are. Added the singer as she checked her makeup before her recent show: "I always said that I want a baby by the time I'm 25, so here I could take a few years off and get back into shape, when the time is right. That would be a long time, but I want to have a family." This week, though, Wright, the tour bus to *Kate*, who married her boy friend, arrived. Does this mean the eight-year-old country singer is getting a baby, honey?" For a young healthy and happy Wright, the last days—her biggest audience—will be ahead.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH is in Canada



Wright: from a classic pose to a triumphant present

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

| | FICtION |
|----|--|
| 1 | <i>Goodbye, Darkness</i> , Ring (2) |
| 2 | <i>City of Gold</i> , Doherty (1) |
| 3 | <i>Hothouse</i> , Alcott (4) |
| 4 | <i>Reassessing the Seven of Joy</i> , Blakely (28) |
| 5 | <i>Jealous</i> , Scott (2) |
| 6 | <i>The Perfect Blend</i> , Graham (2) |
| 7 | <i>Karen</i> , Gummer's Daughter, Knoll (63) |
| 8 | <i>China Lovers</i> , Hyde |
| 9 | <i>Summer, Under</i> |
| 10 | <i>The Real Thing</i> , Lewis (8) |

NONFICTION

| | |
|----|--|
| 1 | <i>I Never Knew Myself</i> , Martin (1) |
| 2 | <i>The Secret Peasant</i> , Story (2) |
| 3 | <i>A Return to Love</i> , Wilfong (4) |
| 4 | <i>Health Without Risk for Canadians</i> , Corlett (2) |
| 5 | <i>Revelations from Within</i> , Sivens (2) |
| 6 | <i>The Culture of Government</i> , Gallois (2) |
| 7 | <i>Summer Maidens</i> , Merle (10) |
| 8 | <i>Bedeviled</i> , Flaherty |
| 9 | <i>Popcorn, Popcorn</i> , Poynter (3) |
| 10 | <i>The Happy Life of Ossession</i> , Threya (9) |

17 Fiction best-sellers

Compiled by Bruce Johnson



Why can't Americans accept strong women?

BY ALLAN POTHERINGHAM

It is interesting that North American voters, supposedly representing the vibrant and youthful New World, have never come to grips with the idea of female political leaders. The fuddy-duddies across the ocean have, not surprising, had success electing those of the other sex to lead in India, in Ireland and in Australia, in Britain or Pakistan, in Norway and in Scotland.

The sole of the winter, where women have the highest percentage of living in the world, Joe Clark was tossed out of office because, among other things, rural Canadian voters thought he wasn't strong enough to force his wife to take his own surname. And we all know what happened to Geraldine Ferraro—no mention Walter Mondale—when the latter took so bold as to name the former as his vice-presidential candidate.

It is, therefore—considering the North American males and parsons about women—isn't it intriguing to contemplate the first American election in history that may be decided on the voters' perception of females?

Tell Clinton's surprising (surprising because it's nothing) choice of Al Gore as his Democratic running mate will be a test of the American notability. Never mind that the pick of Gore is not much in terms of Treasury borders on Clinton's Arkansas; they are, however, 19 months of each other in age, they are boys of the South, they are educated in the Ivy League, they are in essence baby boomer men—so much alike!

Real tests of the American voters will be can they abide in 1992 two wives who represent very much 1980s well-educated, well-spoken, more than slightly disheveled and possibly stronger than their husbands?

Careful Democratic party strategists have already prepared Clinton's answer down under. Hillary, who has punched the narrow fistis surrounding her husband by Marting out to a *Twenty-Four* writer that everybody knows George Bush has had an affair or two as why don't they lay off her husband?

So what does Clinton do? As a vice-presidential candidate he picks a guy whose wife in



of her being picked as a member of the cabinet.

Clinton may have shot her down severely, but, aware of the risk, has now picked a comparative people's people where the wife is not believed to be strong, like Nancy Reagan, or silent, like Muriel Bowdoin. Muriel Pearson said that behind every successful man stands a surprised mother-in-law, a truth we all know, but Clinton is daring the voters to recognize that he is prepared to put into the White House two strong-voiced, intelligent women who may challenge their husbands on issues of import.

It is, in fact, a throwback all the way to the Roosevelt years, when Eleanor was a world figure—before the word feminist had been coined—in behind Franklin got on with coping with Wilson's drafting Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore, to Dan Quayle's dogue, are very much of the Murphy Brown mould—same age, same education, same independent character.

She is, as mentioned, too, Quayle's mother. Muriel, who has just published a political novel and is brighter than he is, but he wouldn't recognize—since he is not that bright—the similarity between his sole and the Murphy Brown character he now will be attacking this fall.

One must give Clinton credit for doing the most devious aspect of American presidential-making for a foreigner, is the super-expensive attempt to "balance" the presidential audience with his very other end of the country, North-South. Postmodern, Postnational, working class—anyone who smoked while smoking great influence with those who didn't.

Clinton, advantageously, chose Gore a senator who has a plausible foreign-policy record that Clinton supported. The Gulf War, arrived to Vietnam, which Clinton did not. Gore has just published a best-selling book on the environment, an area where Clinton is relatively weak.

Does this sound like naked astuteness? What is clear is that Clinton is using women to reconstruct the rumors about himself and women.

Hillary Clinton's role, the Muriel Bowdoin one—one more word she concluded was having her husband politically has stated that she sees nothing wrong with sitting at an cabinet meeting at the White House (to Ronald Carter did, and you know what happened to Jimmy). She says, further, that she sees nothing wrong with the possibility



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